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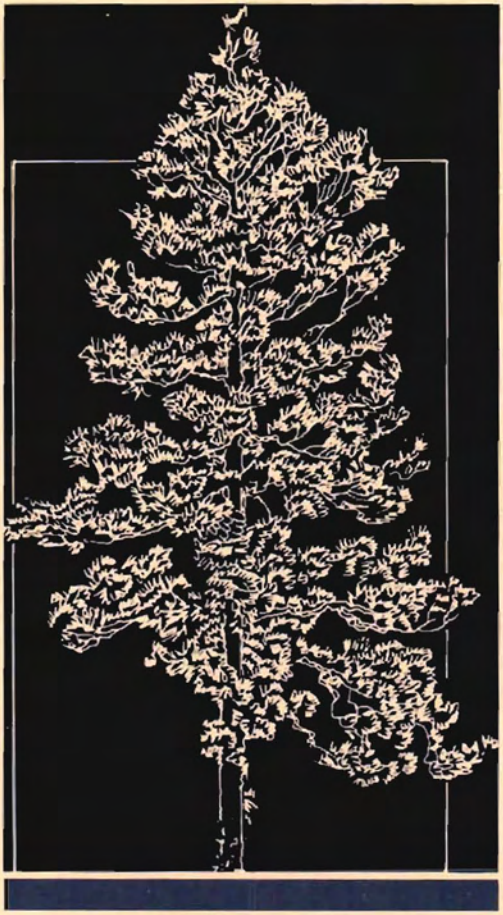

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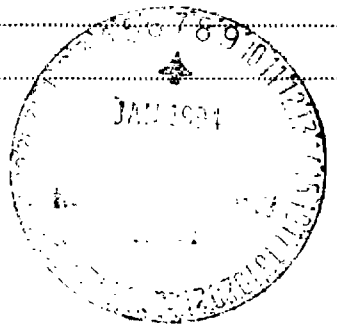

Archie P. McDonald, Executive Director and Editor
STEPHEN F. AUSTIN STATE UNIVERSITY
P.O. BOX 6223
NACOGDOCHES, TEXAS 75962
409–568-2407

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BRIGADIER GENERAL THOMAS GREEN OF TEXAS

by Curtis W. Milbourn

The Civil War produced many interesting personalities. The accomplishments of some of these individuals have been well documented but countless others have slipped into anonymity. One of these nearly forgotten personalities is a Confederate general whose performance in the oft-neglected Trans-Mississippi Theatre contributed to many Southern successes in New Mexico Territory, Texas, and Louisiana.

Nathanial Thomas Green was born on June 8, 1814 in Buckingham County, Virginia, to Nathan and Mary Field Green. In 1817 the family settled near Winchester, Tennessee, where Nathan Green attained prominence as a judge on the Tennessee Supreme Court and head of the Cumberland University Law School. According to family lore, while Nathanial Green was still a boy he was involved in numerous fights with another lad named Nathanial which resulted in young Green refusing to acknowledge his Christian name, thus becoming forever known as Thomas "Tom" Green.[1] As a youth, Thomas Green enjoyed reading stories about great generals and famous battles. He attended a local village school, Jackson College, Cumberland University, and the University of Tennessee (also referred to as the University of Nashville), from which he was graduated in 1934.

In 1835 Green sought adventure in Texas, then a province of Mexico. A revolution was in progress, and the strapping Tennessean, who stood over six feet tall and weighed nearly 200 pounds, enlisted as a private in the Texas Army. On April 21, 1836, Green manned one of the famous Twin Sisters – two cannons that comprised the Texans' entire artillery compliment – at the Battle of San Jacinto. A victory all but assured Texas of independence, and on May 30, 1836, Green resigned from the army with the rank of major.

Thomas Green returned to Tennessee, where he studied law under his father, but by 1837 was drawn back to Texas. He made the new republic his home, settling in the village of La Grange. Green occupied various governmental posts, including county surveyor of Fayette County, one term as a Texas congressman, and clerk for the Texas Senate and Texas Supreme Court. Green also found time for adventure, serving in limited campaigns against the Mexicans and Comanche Indians. Green's military and governmental service permitted him to work with such distinguished Texans as Stephen F. Austin, Sam Houston, and Mirabeau Lamar.

Shortly after Texas gained statehood on December 29, 1845, the Mexican War broke out. Green raised a company of John C. Hays' Texas Rangers and was appointed captain. The Rangers were mustered into the United States Army as the Texas Mounted Rifle Volunteers and assigned as scouts to General Zachary Taylor's command. During the campaign to capture Monterrey, Green and his company were in the thick of the fighting.

Curtis W. Milbourn lives in San Angelo, Texas

Following Monterrey's fall, the Rangers were discharged from the army.

In 1847, Green married Mary W. Chalmers, the daughter of Dr. John G. Chalmers, former United States senator from Mississippi. The couple raised a large family, having six children of their own who reached adulthood and adopting six others. Green continued in government service until the nation was torn apart with the election of Abraham Lincoln as president. When Texas seceded from the Union on February 1, 1861, Green, who already had an aversion for Northerners, stood by his state and enlisted in the Confederate Army.

Initially assigned the duties of aide-de-camp of the Second Military District of Texas, Green soon raised the Fifth Regiment of Texas Mounted Volunteers and was elected colonel of the regiment.

In late summer 1861, Brigadier General Henry H. Sibley organized an expedition for an invasion of the Far West. The Army of New Mexico, called Sibley's Brigade, was formed in San Antonio. It included the Fifth Regiment of Texas Mounted Volunteers. By mid-December the Brigade had marched over 500 miles to Fort Bliss, and by February 1862 occupied Fort Thorn, New Mexico Territory. On February 7, the Army of New Mexico left Fort Thorn, for Albuquerque and Santa Fe. Fearing a lack of water, Sibley opted for the bruising terrain of the west bank of the Rio Grande rather than the shorter desert route. By mid-February the Confederates confronted Fort Craig and its Union garrison under Lieutenant Colonel Edward R.S. Canby. Located on the west bank of the Rio Grande, Fort Craig stood astride the Confederate's line of communication. Deciding that the fort could not be taken by assault, Sibley ordered the brigade to cross to the east bank of the river, move upstream to Contadero Ford near Valverde, then recross the river. The movement was designed to force Canby to leave the fort and fight in the open or have the Army of New Mexico interposed between the fort and Federal supplies to the north. Canby sent troops to oppose the crossing at Contadero Ford and on February 21 the first major engagement of the war in the Southwest was fought.

Having established a small bridgehead on the west bank, the Confederates were driven back across the river and into sand hills by the attacking Federal forces. Both sides continued to pour troops into the fray while maneuvering for advantage. By early afternoon, with the outcome in doubt, Sibley retired from the field with an illness, leaving Green in command. Green sent two columns charging over the sand hills, simultaneously striking both flanks of the Union line. After vicious fighting, the Federal left flank gave way and Canby's troops fled. Of his subordinate, Sibley wrote, "His coolness under the heaviest fire and interpidity under the most trying circumstances are sufficiently attested to by the results. I can not commend Colonel Green too highly to the favorable consideration of the Executive."[2]

Following the victory at Valverde, Sibley decided to proceed to Albuquerque and Santa Fe in the hope of replenishing his army's dwindling sup-

plies. Both cities were occupied without much resistance and the Confederates began a march to Fort Union, the last major obstacle in the conversion of New Mexico to the Confederacy. On March 26 and 28, Union and Confederate forces battled in Glorieta Pass, but when Confederate supplies were destroyed near Johnson's Ranch, Sibley chose to retire from New Mexico. On April 15, at Peralta, Green's regiment clashed with some of Canby's men and were driven from the village after house-to-house fighting. This was the last engagement of note in the fruitless New Mexico campaign. Sibley abandoned his army, leaving Green to oversee the difficult return to San Antonio.

Thomas Green, who performed well throughout the campaign, received no promotion despite numerous letters written in his behalf. It was rumored that Sibley, out of animosity and jealousy, sent word to Richmond that Green could not be trusted because of a propensity for strong drink. If true, Sibley was not the only witness to this weakness. Another source wrote, "Colonel Green was a man who, when out of whiskey, was a mild mannered gentleman, but when in supply of old burst-head was all fight."[3]

No evidence exists that Green's duty performance was affected by his alleged love of spirits, but he did write a letter to Confederate Postmaster General and fellow Texan John H. Reagan, denying the allegation. Unfortunately, this was not the last time the subject of Green's drinking would be broached.

After returning to Texas, Sibley's Brigade was refitted and rested. In December 1862, the unit was ordered to assist Major General John B. Magruder in recapturing the port of Galveston. Magruder planned a combined land-and-naval assault to drive the Federals out. Colonel Green and his men manned the cottonclads "Bayou City" and "Neptune" (two converted steamships) for the naval portion of the assault.

On January 1, 1863, the Confederates launched a surprise attack. "Bayou City" and "Neptune" dueled with five Union gunboats in Galveston Bay while Magruder directed the ground assault. "Neptune" was sunk but "Bayou City" was able to close on the Federal flagship "Harriet Lane," allowing Green and his "marines" to board her and subdue the crew after hand-to-hand fighting. With the loss of their flagship, the remaining Union ships fled the bay, leaving the unsupported Federal land forces no choice but to surrender. For his part in the assault Green was commended by the Confederate Congress, but he had little time to enjoy this accolade. A short time later he was ordered to Louisiana to help Major General Richard Taylor prevent the Pelican State from being overrun by Union forces.

In an attempt to open the Mississippi River to Federal shipping and split the Confederacy in two, Major General Ulysses S. Grant was operating against the Southern fortress of Vicksburg. Major General Nathaniel P. Banks was ordered to cooperate with Grant by seizing Port Hudson, located on the east bank of the Mississippi River approximately 120 miles down-

stream from Vicksburg. In compliance with his orders, Banks began a campaign in Louisiana to secure the west bank of the Mississippi River, which would isolate Port Hudson by cutting off supplies from the fertile regions of western Louisiana and eastern Texas. Banks had over 35,000 soldiers to accomplish this task. With a little luck, he hoped to destroy Taylor's 4,000 men in the process.

Upon arriving in Louisiana, Sibley's Brigade was directed to the lower Bayou Teche region, near Grand Lake. Portions of the brigade were involved in skirmishes near Pattersonville on April 10-11. By April 12, the outnumbered Southerners had been pushed back to Fort Bisland, a strong earthwork located near the mouth of the Bayou Teche. Arrayed against them were three Union divisions of 5,000 men each. Hoping to capture Taylor's entire army, Banks ordered one division to sail up Grand Lake, land at Indian Bend, and block the Confederates' only avenue of escape. This movement would be masked when the remaining two divisions made diversionary attacks in front of the fort. Taylor learned of the ruse and abandoned the fort on April 14, leaving a rearguard of 900 men commanded by Colonel Green to delay over ten times their number.

Taylor retreated up the Teche into northwestern Louisiana in an attempt to save his meager command. From April 14-17, Green fought delaying actions over terrain that was "three-fourths marsh, and one-eighth lagoons, bayous, overflowing creeks and rivers."[4] At Centerville, Jeanerette, New Iberia, and Vermilionville, Green and his cavalry fought "the enemy from dawn to dark, watching him from dusk till the ensuing morn, disputing every foot of ground, burning every bridge (himself the last to cross); in sight and in range of the enemy's guns, he and his men were constantly on duty, often forty-eight hours without rest or food."[5]

Finally, on April 19, the Texans stung the Federals near Grand Couteau, and Banks halted the pursuit. Though isolating Port Hudson, the Federals had failed to destroy Taylor despite their overwhelming superiority in numbers. Taylor remarked of Green, "In truth he was the Ney of our retreat ... the shield and buckler of our little force."[6] For his actions, Taylor recommended that Green be promoted to brigadier general and on May 20, 1863, the promotion became official.

Having driven the Confederates deep into western Louisiana, Banks besieged Port Hudson. With the Federal's attention elsewhere, Taylor launched an offensive designed to recapture the territory recently lost and relieve the pressure on Port Hudson by threatening to occupy New Orleans.

On May 24, Green recaptured Franklin, and on June 11 Berwick City fell. On June 22, General Green, in combination with Colonel James Major, his brother-in-law, and Brigadier General Jean Mouton, attacked Brashear City from the front and rear after transporting troops through dense swamps. The Federal garrison surrendered the following day, netting the Southerners over $3 million in supplies and 1800 prisoners. A Confederate army had not

enjoyed such plunder since Stonewall Jackson captured Harpers Ferry in September 1862.

Green and Major were ordered to Donaldsonville to establish batteries on the Mississippi River. They were to disrupt supplies being sent to the forces investing Port Hudson. Arriving on June 27, Green found 225 Federals occupying Fort Butler, an outpost located at the confluence of the Mississippi River and Bayou LaFourche. After consulting with his superiors, Green was ordered to seize the fort.[7] Prior to the assault, the chivalrous general requested that all women and children within three miles of the fort be evacuated. In the predawn hours of June 28, Green sent his 800 troopers forward. After initial gains, the Confederates stumbled into a trench that their guides had failed to locate. The attack bogged down and at dawn Union gunboats joined the fray forcing the Confederates to retreat.

Green retreated nine miles down the LaFourche, where he established a base to watch Federal movements in Donaldsonville. He detached Major to the banks of the Mississippi River, between the road to Vacherie and the road to Bateau, where he established several batteries. Although Federal river traffic was disrupted, the action was insufficient and Port Hudson surrendered on July 9. Banks was free once again to deal with Taylor.

When the Federals landed 6,000 soldiers near Donaldsonville, Green recalled Major and turned to meet the threat. On July 13, General Green's 1,400 troopers launched a surprise attack shortly after sunrise and forced the Federals into a hasty retreat. The Southerners lost just thirty-three men while inflicting over 450 casualties and capturing numerous supplies.

Again facing overwhelming odds, Taylor was forced to withdraw across western Louisiana. Once more Green was assigned the task of protecting the rear of the Confederate army. The Federals attempted to gain the Southerners rear near Washington, but on September 7 were repulsed by Green at Morgan's Ferry on the Atchafalya River. The Northerners retreated to an area between Morganza and Forduche, where they established a camp and attempted to reorganize themselves for another advance. For over three weeks Green waited in vain for the Federals to break camp. On September 29, the aggressive cavalry commander crossed the Atchafalya River and attacked the Union encampment. The Federals were driven back in disorder, but before the Texans, known by now as Green's Brigade, could destroy them, Green received orders to withdraw to Vermilionville.

A second Federal column was marching up the Bayou Teche, and Green's Brigade was needed to check its advance. On October 9, elements of the brigade skirmished Federal forces at Vermilionville, but were driven back. On October 13, an encounter occurred near Carrion Crow Bayou, ten miles below Opelousas. On October 16 and 18, engagements were fought near two local plantations. Despite resisting fiercely, the Confederates were forced back by the weight of the Federal advance. The Union drive continued, and by October 21 the Confederates had been pressed back to

Opelousas. By this time Banks had learned of the Federal defeat at Sabine Pass. He fell back to Vermilionville, leaving 5,000 men at Bayou Bourbeaux, seven miles southeast of Opelousas, to discourage any Southern pursuit. On November 3, Green attacked the Federals at Bayou Bourbeaux, gaining a complete victory for the Confederates.

Frustrated by his slow progress in western Louisiana and under strong pressure by the Federal government to produce results, Banks decided to invade the lightly defended Texas coast. When Union troops landed near Brownsville in early November, Green was recalled to the Lone Star State to assist in her defense. Leaving Louisiana on December 7, he arrived in Houston on Christmas Day.

Assigned to the defense of Galveston Island, Green spent the next few months strengthening the island's fortifications and readying for a Federal assault. When Banks abandoned his invasion of the Texas coast for another try in western Louisiana, Green was ordered back to the bayous to help Taylor parry yet another thrust.

While Green was in Texas, Lieutenant General Edmund Kirby Smith, commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department, the largest theatre in the Civil War, recommended that he be promoted to major general. In making the recommendation, Smith wrote of Green, "He is a rising officer and has displayed greater ability and military genius than any officer of his grade in the department."[8] While waiting for the promotion to become official, Green assumed the duties of a major general.

On April 5, 1864, Green led a division of cavalry into Mansfield, Louisiana. The arrival of Green's troopers raised Taylor's total force to 8,800 and reunited the former president's son with his ablest lieutenant. Green's appearance was timely because Banks was racing toward Shreveport with nearly 30,000 men. Mansfield stood between the Federal commander and his objective.

By concentrating at Mansfield, Taylor gained certain advantages over his adversary. The Federals were approaching along an old stage road, a narrow track running through dense pine forests and rolling hills, and were unable to by-pass the Confederates. The invaders were also moving away from the Red River, where they were protected by powerful gunboats. The terrain would also make it difficult for Banks to concentrate his forces, giving Taylor an opportunity to defeat him in detail. Buoyed by Green's arrival, Taylor decided to strike the Federals at the first possible moment.

A suitable battlefield, which consisted of a treeline adjacent to a rare cleared field, was located three miles southeast of Mansfield near Sabine Crossroads. On April 7, Green and his cavalry moved forward to harass and slow the advancing Federals, while Taylor organized his army just inside of the treeline. The following day, shortly after noon, Green's troopers emerged into the clearing, pursued closely by the unsuspecting Union vanguard. When the Northerners approached the treeline, Taylor sprung the trap.

Struck by a heavy volley of musketry, the Federals rocked back in surprise. Retreating across the field, they established a defensive line on a small hill from which they exchanged shots with the unseen Confederates. At 4:00 p.m., Taylor sent his army forward to dislodge the 5,700 Federals opposing him. After some hard fighting the Union troops were routed from the field. The pursuing Confederates struck and overwhelmed a second defensive line three miles down the road. Continuing after the panicked Federals, the Southerners finally were halted after striking a third defensive line, more from disorganization and darkness than from Union resistance.

Brigadier General Thomas Green CSA, 1814-1864 (Courtesy of The Library of Congress)

The signal victory, sometimes referred to as the "Bull Run of Louisiana," netted Taylor's army nearly 1,000 horses and mules and 150 wagons loaded with supplies. The Federals lost 2,200 men, compared to 1,000 Confederate casualties. Mansfield marked one of the last major field victories for a Confederate army.

During the night Banks ordered a retreat to Pleasant Hill, twenty miles from Mansfield, where he established a battleline of 12,000 men. In the early morning of April 9, Taylor, reinforced to 12,500, set off in pursuit of his nemesis, seeking the battle that would finish Banks. At 5:00 p.m., the exhausted Confederates assaulted the prepared Federals. Intending to turn the Union left flank, the Confederates struck near the center. After severe fighting the Southern right flank was repulsed, forcing the Confederate center and right flank to withdraw.

Both sides lost over 1,300 soldiers, but Taylor's aggressiveness further discouraged Banks, who ordered a retreat to Grand Ecore. Despite being driven from the field, Taylor and Green had turned back the Federal invasion.

The Union retreat to Grand Ecore left Admiral David D. Porter's Red River fleet in a precarious situation. The rapidly receding river made navigation difficult. Porter's fleet would have to retreat without the protection of Banks' army and would be susceptible to recapture or destruction while it slowly sailed back to Grand Ecore.

Taylor grasped his opportunity and ordered Green to Blair's Landing, twelve miles from Pleasant Hill, to intercept the Federal fleet. Arriving on April 12, Green deployed his 2,500 dismounted troopers in ambush along the river bank. Green's plan was to disable one of the leading ships with his artillery, thus blocking the river and allowing the Confederates to capture or destroy the ships that followed. When the leading elements of the fleet steamed into sight, a vicious firefight erupted. Southern small-arms fire was

so effective that "everything that was made of wood ... was pierced with bullets."[9] However, the Confederate artillery was mauled by the fleet's powerful guns. During the exchange of fire, Green was struck by a shell which tore away the upper portion of his skull, killing him instantly. With Green's death, the Confederate attack faltered and the Union fleet avoided disaster.

Some controversy surrounds Green's last battle. Admiral Porter recorded that "Green had been drinking heavily" and that near each Confederate body at Blair's Landing was "a canteen half full of whiskey."[10] Years later, an embittered Southerner not present at Blair's Landing wrote of Green's troopers, "Had they had as much Louisiana rum under their belts as Green had, my sympathies for the dead would not have been so great."[11] Whether because of aggressiveness, foolhardiness, or liquor, the dependable "Murat of the West" was dead.

Thomas Green's body was removed to Austin, Texas, where he lay in state in the House of Representatives. He was buried in the family plot in Oakwood Cemetery. Feeling he would die in battle, Green had requested that he be buried with his family rather than at the prestigious State Cemetery of Texas, where many famous Texans rest. A simple tombstone was all that marked his grave until 1909, when a monolith of gray granite nearly twenty-five feet high was erected at the sight by the surviving members of Green's Brigade and the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

Thomas Green left a trail of success few men equaled during the Civil War. Although Green's promotion to major general never became official, the only cavalry commander on either side to hold a rank higher than major general was Nathan Bedford Forrest. The governor of Texas, during Green's funeral oration, compared the cavalier to Confederate immortals John Hunt Morgan, Stonewall Jackson, and Forrest.[12] While this praise might be somewhat extravagant, there is no doubt that Green was a major figure in the Southern efforts in the Trans-Mississippi Theatre. His men adored him, his commanders relied upon him, and perhaps the greatest tribute of all, his foes respected him. Admiral Porter recorded that Green was "the best officer the Confederates had in this quarter, who ... would have given no end of trouble had he lived," and that losing him "paralyzed (sic) them; he was worth 5,000 men."[13] Captain Thomas Selfridge, who commanded the gunboat "Osage" at Blair's Landing, wrote that Green was "the foremost partisan fighter west of the Mississippi."[14] Even Nathanial P. Banks, whom Green had caused nothing but grief, conceded," ... he was the ablest officer in their service."[15]

NOTES

[1]Tom Green Scrapbook, Austin, Texas, Texas State Archives.

[2]Odie Faulk, *General Tom Green, "A Fightin' Texan"* (Waco, 1963), pp. 42-43.

[3]Theophilus Noel, *Autobiography and Reminiscences of Theophilus Noel* (Chicago, 1904), p. 100.

[4]Noel, *Autobiography and Reminiscences,* p. 89.

[5]Faulk, *General Tom Green,* p. 53.

[6]Clement A. Evans, ed., *Confederate Military History* (Atlanta, 1899), XI, p. 195.

[7]*The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington D.C., 1883), Series I, vol. 26, part 1, p. 227.

[8]*War of the Rebellion,* Series I, vol. 26, part 1, p. 385.

[9]Robert V. Johnson and Clarence c. Buell, eds., *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York, 1884-1888), vol. IV, p. 363.

[10]W.C. Nunn, ed., *Ten More Texans in Gray* (Hillsboro, 1980), pp. 36-37.

[11]Noel, *Autobiography and Reminiscences,* p. 100.

[12]"Oration Delivered by Governor P. Murrah in the Capitol at the Funeral Ceremonies over the Remains of Maj. Gen. Tom Green," Tom Green Scrapbook.

[13]Nunn, *Ten More Texans,* p. 37.

[14]Johnson and Buell, *Battles and Leaders,* vol. IV, p. 364.

[15]Evans, *Confederate Military,* vol. XI, p. 233.

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF A TEXARKANA, U.S.A., HOMEMAKER FROM 1900 - 1917

by Judy Hoofman

"Let'er boom! Let'er boom!"[1] These words, published almost daily by the editor of a Texarkana newspaper, expressed the theme of life early in the 1900s in Texarkana. Texarkana, Texas, was chartered in 1873 with the coming of the Texas and Pacific Railroad. Texarkana, Arkansas, its rival and closest neighbor – only one hundred feet away across the "State Line" – was established in 1880.

From 1873 to 1900, Texarkana had a reputation for crime, saloons, and gambling like few cities anywhere. Because of the easy access for criminals to escape from one state to the next by merely crossing a state boundary line, Texarkana attracted "idlers, thieves, burglers, and n'er-do-wells"[2] as well as "gamblers, gunmen, and other lawless individuals... ."[3] In 1881, a group of Texarkana businessmen "ordered every known bad character to summarily leave the city."[4] Even though this did much to cleanse the area of crime, by 1900 Texarkana still had its share of saloons and gambling halls, especially in the "red light district" in the Swampoodle Creek area, but not to the extent that had existed earlier.

The timber and railroad businesses brought people and prosperity to Texarkana. By 1900, the population had grown to almost 10,000. In 1881, 2400 immigrants poured into Texarkana in one month alone.[5] By 1917, Texarkana was the home of approximately 20,000 people.

During this pre-World War I era, Texarkana boasted many goods and services, including the Union Station, which the twin cities shared, and a mule-drawn streetcar. The city replaced the mule with electricity in 1902. For five cents, the streetcar took patrons to Spring Lake Park, a showplace with a skating rink and other forms of entertainment. The city also provided electricity, gas, water, and telephone service for those living "in town." "Town" included the homes from Broad Street to Ninth Street. Woods surrounded the area from that point. Businesses such as department stores, drug stores, and grocery stores were in operation on the boardwalk along Broad Street, along with the ever-present saloons. Private and public schools and many churches had been established by this time. Texarkana had several doctors, and Michael Meagher Hospital (now St. Michael Hospital) and Abell's Sanitorium were available to provide medical service. There was no library, but several newspapers provided reading material, which was very important to the Texarkana family, and became more important as World War I drew near.

The Texarkana homemaker from 1900-1917 enjoyed a fulfilling life centered around her home and family. She could not vote yet, and did not enjoy the many modern conveniences of women today, yet she had a useful

Judy Hoofman lives in Texarkana, Texas.

life in which she was able to find purpose and wield a positive influence over her family.

The homemaker of early twentieth-century Texarkana lived in a thriving community, but her life centered around her home and family. R.P. Merrill, a long-time resident of Bowie County, described a typical homestead of the Texarkana area at the time:

> large rooms with high ceilings, open hallway, front porch, and back "gallery", huge oak trees left standing, bee hives in the orchard, the smokehouse, the bored well, the spring under the hill. Inside, high beds with feather mattresses and handmade coverlets. Seth Thomas clock, pine cupboards, stoneware dishes, colonial rockers, family Bible and oil lamp at the reading table.[6]

This describes the homes of many Texarkana families in 1900. One such resident was Mrs. Jenny Simmons, who was born in 1893 and came to Texarkana on a train at the age of three. She lived in a farmhouse located on eighteen acres in Texarkana, Arkansas. Like the Merrill home, her's had fireplaces and a wood-burning cookstove and no electricity or telephone. The home had coal-oil lamps and a well on the back porch. She said that they had "every type of fruit and nut tree native to the area, as well as many types of berries."[7] Like the Merrill homestead, the Simmons family had a smokehouse and barn. VeLora Harrell, who was born in the Rose Hill section of Texarkana, Texas, in 1911, had a home much like Merrill described, but with more modern conveniences. Because she lived near "town," she had running water, a telephone, and an indoor bathroom. Instead of electricity, her family used "gaslights and a gas cookstove."[8] Wilbur Smith, a Texarkana native born in 1902 and who grew up "in town," lived in a two-story house with electricity, a telephone, running water, an indoor bathroom, and even a washing machine.[9] Like the Merrill family, the Harrells, Simmons, and Smiths all possessed "high beds with feather mattresses and hand-made coverlets," often made by their mothers. Each had a family Bible and rocking chairs. The home reflected the lifestyle of the wife and homemaker of Texarkana.

A typical weekday of the Texarkana homemaker started early. Before she served breakfast to her family, she got dressed. A typical everyday outfit was an ankle-length skirt, usually made of gingham or a calico print, which the woman wore with a high-collared blouse called a "waist." The "waist" usually had lace or ruffles, with puffy sleeves which came to the elbow. All homemakers wore long aprons to protect their clothing. Even for everyday, women wore stockings and some type of heeled shoe. The *Sears Catalogue* of 1906 advertised a "Ladies Button" patent leather shoe, which sold for $3.50 and buttoned or laced up the ankle, and also had a pointed toe and a wedged heel.[10] Women wore corsets, although most saved these for special occasions. The corsets hooked in front and laced in the back and helped the woman achieve an hour-glass figure. To complete the outfit, the woman wore a hat and gloves. Women wore fancy feathered hats on special

occasions, but for everyday, they wore bonnets. An article in *The Texarkana Courier* on April 30, 1910 humorously described the way a woman dressed. The writer of the article retorted to a man's comment that the woman had an idle life:

> "... buckle a strap around your waist so tigth [sic] you can't draw a full breath or eat a hearty meal ... wear high-heeled shoes and gloves a siez [sic] too small for you ... fix a huge hat on with pins, so that every time the wind blows it pulls your hair out by the roots, and then without any pockets and with short sleeves and openwork stocking go out for a walk on a winter's day and enjoy yourself. Oh yes, my word. You would like it!"

After she dressed, the Texarkana homemaker used the products available to "fix" her face and hair. Hats and bonnets helped protect the woman's complexion from the sun. Women wore only a small amount of rouge and powder. Society considered a woman "vulgar" if she wore lipstick. Although women wore little makeup, magazines and newspapers advertised many beauty aides. For example, *The Ladies' Home Journal* advertised "Pompeian Beauty Powder and Day Cream," which promised to produce "Love at First Sight" by keeping the skin "smooth and velvety" and "removing face shine."[11] Page six of *The Texarkana Courier,* March 16, 1910, carried a half-page testimonial of how "S.S.S. Blood Purifier" cured a Mrs. Lucy Gooding of acne, pimples, and a "muddy and sallow" complexion. *The Delineator* magazine of May 1916 advertised a "Mulsified Cocoanut Oil" for shampooing the hair. It promised to leave hair "fine and silky, bright, fresh-looking and fluffy, wavy and easy to do up."[12] All women of these pre-women's suffrage days had long hair. "Pompadour" hairdos, which piled hair on top of the head, were popular. For everyday, the Texarkana homemaker would pin her hair up, or arrange it in a bun at the base of her neck. Some women would backcomb their hair and use "rats," or false hair, to make it look thicker. An article written by Mrs. L.A. Tanlunson and published in the *Texarkana Courier* on February 27, 1910, warned of the dangers of contracting leprosy from handling false braids and "rats." She commented, "Most of us will gladly welcome such a change, as the rats, puffs, and braids are horrid things of which we are thoroughly tired. And we'll all be glad to see our heads reduced to a normal size once more."

After the Texarkana homemaker was satisfied that she was ready to face the day, she prepared the fire in the wood-burning stove to cook breakfast for her family. She built the fire by igniting chips of wood in the stove with a match (and sometimes with kerosene), and then adjusting the damper to achieve the proper temperature to cook the meal. The first meal of the day usually consisted of coffee and hot cereal and milk, or hot biscuits, home-churned butter with homemade jams and jellies, accompanied by fresh eggs with sausage from the smokehouse. Christine Rogers Nelson, a Texarkana resident born in 1902, said the children in her family preferred their mother's homemade biscuits to any other bread, even though their father ran a

bakery! She said, "And my father being a baker – this is just a little incident I'll throw in – we didn't like bread, we called it white bread, or baker's bread. We liked biscuits and cornbread."[13] Unlike the family of today, which hurriedly grabs a bite to eat as each member rushes to a different destination, the family of the early 1900s sat down and ate each meal together. Some Texarkana families used meal time to have prayers and Bible readings. In an interview on March 27, 1992, Jenny Simmons said her family sang and prayed before breakfast. She added, "If it was a drought and we needed rain, then we had that prayer before breakfast." In an interview with VeLora Harrell on March 26, 1992, she said that her family had daily Bible readings and morning devotionals. "We kneeled around the bed every morning before we had breakfast," she said. Mrs. Mildred Edwards, a Texarkana native born in 1907, told how her mother prayed for the children in the family every day before they left for school. "We never went to school in the morning without my mother turning us face to face, my sister and I, and putting her hands on our heads. We would bow our heads and she'd put her hand on each one of our heads and she'd say 'Dear Lord, these are my children. Bless each one as I entrust them to your care, Dear Lord. Protect them from all harm.' "[14]

Perhaps the revival reported by *The Texarkana Courier* in 1910 inspired Texarkana homemakers to pray for their children. The newspaper carried many articles and sermons preached by Dr. Ruben A. Torrey from the Moody Bible Institute. He held a city-wide revival in Texarkana that lasted for weeks, and thousands attended. Wilbur Smith, a Texarkana resident and child at the time, said that of the 15,445 people then living in the area, "about a third of the census" became professing church members as a result of the revival. He commented, "I don't thing [sic] Texarkana has ever again reached that high percentage of church membership."[15]

Not only did the mother of the house prepare her children spiritually to face the day, she helped them physically by preparing their lunches in buckets to carry to school. Mrs. Ollie Marjorie Markham, another early resident of Bowie County, Texas, described those lunches: "Usually it was whatever Mother had put together, such as a cup of syrup, baked sweet potatoes, biscuits, and, of course, she always cooked up some kind of cookie or pie."[16]

After preparing lunches, the mother then helped her children dress for school. In an interview with VeLora Harrell, she said that girls wore "black sateen buttoned bloomers with long black or white stockings and high topped shoes." Jenny Simmons said their school clothes were "pleated skirts with cotton turtleneck sweaters made by their mothers."[17] They reserved gloves and hats for church, but many wore bonnets to school. Boys also wore high topped shoes with a shirt and short pants called "knickers." Wilbur Smith admitted that he was never allowed to wear long pants until he was in high school.[18] Boys wore a "Union Suit" underneath their clothes, which was a one-piece, cotton knit underwear suit, which buttoned down the front and had a flap in the back. After the mother helped the children dress

for school, she sent them off with their lunch buckets. Most children walked to school.

Most homemakers in Texarkana valued education highly and saw to it that their children went to school. Since there were few public schools when they were children, most had only a few years of schooling. Jenny Simmons said that her mother attended grade school in Nevada County, Arkansas, and "loved to read more than anything in life." She added, "She and her sisters were educated in the Bible, and had read it through many times."[19] Of the seven children in her family, Simmons was the only one who did not graduate from high school. She quit in the ninth grade to run the household when her mother went into the hospital (Dale Sanitorium) to have a hysterectomy. Wilbur Smith said that when his mother was a child, there were few public schools, but that she attended classes in the Roseborough home in Texarkana. She also attended one of the first public schools in Texarkana, the College Hill School.[20] VeLora Harrell said that all five children in her family graduated from high school, and she participated in the first graduation exercises held at the Texas High School Auditorium in 1930.[21]

Although Texarkana had private schools, most children went to public schools. VeLora Harrell began school in the Rose Hill Grammar School in Texarkana, Texas, which included grades one through seven. She studied Reading, Writing, Physiology, Geography, History, Arithmetic, and Penmanship there. She added, "I wish they would teach Penmanship today!"[22] Simmons said that she started school at North Heights Elementary in Texarkana, Arkansas, a one-room schoolhouse with one teacher in 1910. The girls sat on one side of the room and the boys on the other, with an aisle between them. The teacher, a Professor Winham, taught all six grade levels.[23]

Mr. and Mrs. Hearol Markham, who attended school in Bowie County, Texas, and later graduated from college, described their experiences in a country school near Texarkana. Markham said that the school calendar revolved around the crops. [They] "started school immediately after the cotton picking season and then closed it before the cotton chopping season. School lasted six and one half months of the year."[24] The two-room, two-teacher school was divided into elementary and high school levels, with approximately forty-five students in each. There was no library or cafeteria. They had subjects similar to those studied by students in the "town" school, and also had spelling bee competitions between schools. Ollie Marjorie Markham said she loved sports and participated in basketball and volleyball in high school. Her husband said he also played basketball and baseball in high school.

Sports was not the only extra-curricular activity offered by Texarkana's high schools. A scrapbook belonging to Miss Eva Wilson, who graduated from Arkansas High School in 1916, includes memorabilia of such activities as a Shakespearean Club, a senior play entitled "A Nautical Knot," concert piano and violin performances, and dramatic readings. Miss Wilson also

included an "Order for Dancing" card with various names on it as a memento from her high school days.[25] Forty-eight seniors graduated that year, half of them girls.

The mother's work at home was by no means done after her children left for school. In addition to breakfast, the busy homemaker spent much of her time in food preparation. A cookbook published by the Saint James Guild of the Saint James Episcopal Church of Texarkana in 1908 prefaced their recipes with the words of Arnold Bennett: " 'Until the nature of man is completely altered, cooking is the most important thing for a woman.' " Whether or not the homemaker agreed with that statement, she spent much of her time in food preparation.

One of the responsibilities of the mother was to prepare milk products for the home. Every family owned a cow, and usually the mother delegated the responsibility of milking and churning to other members of the family. VeLora Harrell said her mother insisted on doing the milking in the family herself. "She wouldn't let Daddy milk because he would make the cow go dry. It was the way he milked."[26] Wilbur Smith told a humorous story of how his brother, much like Tom Sawyer, tricked him into milking the family cow. "I begged him to teach me how to milk, but he wouldn't hear of it. Finally, he 'gave in' and after a few days started to absent himself at the proper time each day. I had completely swallowed the hook and never got off."[27]

After she or another family member had milked the cow, the mother strained the milk and then made it into milk products. To make sweet milk, she simply poured the strained milk into a stone jar and set it in huge tubs of cool well water to chill. She then put it in the icebox to keep it cool. Horse-drawn buggies delivered ice daily for the iceboxes which almost everyone owned. Wilbur Smith told how his aunt in Atlanta, Texas, refrigerated their food by using a wooden flume built on the back porch. "Butter and other food rested on bricks. The water passing along the flume provided the refrigeration."[28]

Besides making her own milk products, the woman of early Texarkana made wonderful baked goods for her family on an almost daily basis. A description of Texarkana resident Rilla Belle Bennett Rehkopf typifies many homemakers during the years 1900-1917. "Rilla Belle Bennett Rehkopf was known for her warm hospitality and culinary arts. Everyone was welcome in her home at mealtime, and there were never too many guests for her to feed. For some years, during the latter part of her life, she was a semi-invalid, confined to her chair. Even then she managed to continue baking the wonderful cakes and pies for which she was famous."[29] Mildred Edwards, another Texarkana resident, described how her mother kept something baked for her friends after social events. "If it was in the wintertime, Mother made hot gingerbread for us. And if it was in the strawberry season, she made the most delicious strawberry pies in the world."[30]

Dan Sparks, who grew up in Texarkana, said that the secret to the

baking success was in knowing how to use the damper to regulate the temperature of the fire in the wood-burning stoves. As a boy, he helped his mother by chopping the wood for the cookstove. " ... After I made the fire, she knew just how she wanted our fire and she had a damper there, and man alive, she could cook the best biscuits in the world and never knew what a receipe [sic] was, you know."[31] When the interviewer asked him if it was different to cook without a thermostat, he replied: "Thermostat my foot. My mother could cook a nut cake, and chocolate cakes, lemon cakes, and lemon cake's my favorite. She knew how to make a crust of lemon deal, you know, that smeared in the outside between layers. There's never been nothing like it."

Perhaps another secret to the delicious baked goods was their rich ingredients. In a Texarkana cookbook published by the W.H. Booth Company in 1910, a recipe on page sixty-six for "Angel Cake" calls for the whites of twenty eggs. Another recipe for "Jam Cake" spared no expense (or calories). It includes a cup of butter, a cup of sour milk or cream, and one and one-half cups of jam, and two cups of sugar. Flour, spices, and six eggs are added to this. This recipe concludes with the understatement, "Nothing is needed between layers."[32]

The mother of the household also kept a supply of homemade bread. VeLora Harrell said her mother made bread at least once a week, and most mothers made bread even more often. *The Texarkana Cook Book of 1910* lists "Breads" as the first recipe, with this caption: "Bread – The very staff of life;/ The comfort of the husband,/ The pride of the wife."[33] Even though one could buy bread at the grocery store or even have it delivered, most women made their own. In an interview Dan Sparks said that his family grew their own grain and took it to the gristmill in Texarkana to be ground into flour. "This produced a very nutritious light brown flour that mother used to bake bread."[34]

Another responsibility of the homemaker was to can and preserve food. Jenny Simmons said that her mother made jams, jellies, and preserves from strawberries, blackberries, plums, peaches, and grapes that grew on their farm in Texarkana, Arkansas. Her mother also dried fruits such as apples and made raisins from grapes. She used these in mincemeat pies for the holidays. Homemakers in Texarkana canned vegetables such as tomatoes, squash, okra, corn, peas, and butterbeans. They did this by washing the vegetables, heating them on the stove, and putting them into steaming jars. The jars were a clear or bluish color. After the vegetables were put in jars, the mother sealed the jars with rubber rings and lids. She used the jars year after year, but had to replace the lids each year. Jenny Simmons claimed that some vegetables, such as turnips, were not canned. Before a freeze, the family pulled up the turnips from the patch, and stored them in a bed of straw covered with dirt. "This provided fresh turnips and greens until spring."[35]

In the fall, the men of the family usually butchered a hog and, after

salting it, stored the meat – bacon, ham, and sausage – in the smokehouse. One of the "delicacies" that the mother made on these occasions was hogshead cheese. Jimmy Simmons described this as a delicious treat that the children took in their lunch buckets. It was made of "the boiled meat from the head of the hog, and mixed with sage, black and red pepper, and packed into stone crocks." Her mother served this with vinegar. A recipe for "Pig's Head Cheese" from the *Texarkana Cook Book of 1910* describes this process in more detail: "Having thoroughly cleaned a hog's or pig's head, split it in two, take out the eyes and the brains, clean the ears, throw scalding water over the head and ears, then scrape them well ... then take out every particle of bone, chop the meat fine, season to taste with salt and pepper (a little pounded sage may be added) and store in a crock."[36]

The Texarkana homemaker used hogshead cheese, or other meats grown on the farm such as beef or chicken to prepare the largest meal of the day, dinner. Dinner was the noon meal, and like breakfast, all the family members ate together. The mother served meat with several vegetables or fruits from a vast array of fresh or canned ones available from the garden. A typical dinner might consist of ham, sweet potatoes, turnip greens, Irish potatoes, and fresh tomatoes with green onions. The mother added cornbread or light bread to make a balanced and delicious noon meal. She always made a dessert, such as peach pie or strawberry cobbler.

After the meal, the mother cleaned up the kitchen and washed the dishes. She stored the leftover food in a "warming closet" in the wood-burning stove, or in a "safe." The warming closet was a compartment above the range where food could be kept as the woodburning stove slowly cooled off. Dan Sparks described a "safe" this way:

> It was a huge thing with perforated holes in the tin all way around it so it wouldn't sweat inside and that is where you put your food after lunch so flies and varmits and all wouldn't get to it. And that's where your supper was... .[37]

To wash the dinner dishes, the mother used hot water stored in a copper reservoir on the wood-burning stove. The reservoir held four to five gallons, and stayed hot for up to twenty-four hours. If she had a gas stove or an oil-burning stove, she heated water on the range and washed dishes in a tub or in the sink. She used lye soap that she had made from the fat of a slaughtered hog. To make this, pigskins were baked and became crisp cracklings which were eaten. The fat drippings were then boiled with lye to make lye soap. After it cooled overnight, the substance hardened and was ready to use as soap for dishes and clothes.

Besides food preparation, the Texarkana homemaker had the responsibility of sewing for the family. Some women were such good seamstresses that they sewed for other people as well. Wilbur Smith said that his mother was "very talented, and could play the piano, sew, or do anything. Her ability to sew was worth $100.00 to anybody." Mrs. Jean Craig said, "My mother was a perfectionist. She was such a good seamstress that other people requested that she sew for them." This brought in extra money for her family, who struggled to live on

a minister's salary. Sewing was a recognized profession among women from 1900-1917. In the *Polk's City Directory of 1912,* the only profession besides nursing and teaching which had only women listed was that of Dressmaking. Mothers made clothing for every member of the family, as well as making tablecloths, quilts, napkins, and rugs. Almost all women had sewing machines, but delicate work, such as lacework, smocking, or tatting, was done by hand. The *Sears Catalogue of 1906* advertised a sewing machine that was built in a cabinet of five drawers and was foot-operated. It sold for about $10.00. Newspapers carried advertisements for threads, materials, and other supplies for the seamstress. One store advertised in *The Texarkana Courier* on April 6, 1910 such materials as gingham or linen from nineteen cents to thirty-five cents per yard. *The Daily Texarkanian* on September 8, 1905 advertised a more select assortment of materials, including silks, which ranged from sixty cents to $1.50 per yard. Magazines such as *The Delineator* offered a monthly article entitled "Beginning Lessons in Dressmaking," and also produced a Butterick Pattern supplement every quarter.[38] With these courses of help, the Texarkana homemaker usually selected the type of clothes or articles she wanted to make and bought the materials from catalogs or dry goods stores in town.

For shopping, the family usually went to town together on Saturdays. Occasionally, the homemaker might need to go to town alone to buy supplies or run an errand. To do this, she would harness the horse to the fringed surrey that most women owned and operated themselves, and then make her way to Broad Street in downtown Texarkana. On sunny days traveling across the unpaved streets to the city was no problem, but if it rained, mud would often bog down the surrey all the way to the rims of the wheels. The downtown area itself, as well as the Texas side of State Line, was paved with red bricks. As she traveled along the streets, she would see streetcars, and she might also see wagons carrying cotton bales or delivering ice or groceries. She might even see boys on bicycles delivering telegraph messages or the horsedrawn fire engine named for the mayor's daughter, "Imogene."[39] She might even pass one of the few automobiles in town, owned by such people as W.K. Wadley.[40] Once she reached Broad and Maple (now Texas Boulevard), she would stop at the tree-lined town well long enough to give her horse a drink. After she had lodged the horse in the livery stable, she would then walk carefully along the boardwalk of Broad Street "to avoid tripping over the nail-heads that protruded on the boardwalks... ."[41] She also avoided looking into the swinging doors of the saloons. As she shopped, she would pass the Grand Opera House and several silent movie theatres, which provided entertainment at five cents per movie. To obtain her sewing supplies, she would stop at one of the dry goods stores, such as the O'Dwyer and Ahern Company, which advertised sales in the August 6, 1916, *Daily Texarkanian,* "Waists worth $1.00 and More at 50¢ each," and "$1.00 corsets at 79¢." She might windowshop at the exclusive L. Schwarz Department Store at 102 West Broad, which sold "Essanelle Waists" for $20 each, and "Crepe de Chine Gowns" for $115.[42] After she had enjoyed windowshopping (I. Schwarz probably was out of her price range), she might sit in one of the plush seats at the Boyd

Drug Store to drink a soda. Before leaving, she might buy some Epsom Salts or Castor Oil, which she used for the ailments her family suffered. Before going home, she might buy items at the grocery store, although most foods were grown in her garden at home. *The Texarkana Courier* advertised a locally produced syrup which sold for seventy cents per gallon. The advertisement said, "Pure Ribbon Cane, made in Cass County, where they know how to make the genuine Ribbon Cane Syrup." She might buy something exotic which the farm at home did not produce, such as almonds, which sold for thirty-five cents a pound, or a can of salmon, which she could buy for eight cents. After she had completed her shopping, she would then retrieve her horse and surrey and return home, passing by some of the magnificent mansions in Texarkana, such as the Ben Collins home, situated at 1000 Pine Street (the present site of Wadley Regional Medical Center). One Texarkana resident described this estate as a "large two-story white house that was on the beautiful knoll in a wooded section."[43] After her trip to town, the Texarkana homemaker would then return to resume her duties at home.

As well as making the clothes, the Texarkana homemaker had the responsibility of keeping the clothes clean. In 1906, the Sears catalog advertised a "Mississippi Washing Machine" for $5.75, "only eleven cents a week," which promised to save women from "back-breaking and arm-tiring leaning over the washtub for hours at a time."[44] Despite such a guarantee, most women in the early 1900s washed their clothes with a scrubboard in an iron pot filled with boiling water. They did this on the back porch, in the kitchen, or even at the closest spring in the hot summer months. In an article in the *Delineator* magazine, Georgia Boynton Child explained "Just How to Do the Washing." She said that the mother must sort and mend all clothes as the first step of washing. After that, she advised the homemaker to "Cut up soap needed for next day's washing. Place in a stewpan and cover with water." After the soap had dissolved, women then added boiling water and the clothes to this and scrubbed them on the rubboard. She then rinsed them and hung them outside on the clothesline to dry. After they were dry, she ironed them, using a flatiron heated on the cookstove. Because the process took many hours, the homemaker usually washed clothes only once a week. She often employed her children or hired servants in the task.

It was not uncommon for white woman of early Texarkana to pay a black woman or couple to help with the chores. The couple did such things as help with the planting, harvesting, canning, cooking, and washing. VeLora Harrell, who said that they "were poor but didn't know it," paid a black woman to do the washing and help clean the house.[45] Wilbur Smith said that his family paid a black lady a few dollars a week to help do housework.[46] Jenny Simmons said they paid their black help, "Aunt Kittie and Uncle Esau," who did the planting and butchering, in vegetables and meats.[47] Dan Sparks told how his family loved "Aunt Polly" and the other black people who helped them on the farm: "We kids just loved her like we did our family ... But there was a love and affection and they gave that to the family – transferred it to the family." He also related how his parents had given Aunt Polly the right to discipline him and the other children in the family. "Although some kid – could have been me – if I was a smart

aleck kid, if Aunt Polly had wanted to, she could have, – she was permitted to jerk up a cotton stalk and wear me out and you know my Daddy riding right by there wouldn't have said a word."

Even with the hired help, it took a great deal of work for a woman to run a household early in the 1900s, and the mother had to delegate many responsibilities to the children. Children had chores both before and after school, including feeding and taking care of the cows, horses, chickens, and hogs, and milking the cow. Wilbur Smith not only milked the cow at home, he also milked the neighbor's cow for a small wage. The neighbor eventually hired him to work at the Texarkana National Bank, and Smith humorously said, "that my success was due to udders."[48] The boys in the family usually helped their father with the crops, and they also had the job of keeping kindling and firewood for the wood-burning stove and fireplaces. Mrs. Dan Sparks commented that in the days before electricity, "Bringing in the wood and cleaning the lamp chimneys were the chores of my brothers after school."[49] The girls generally did housework such as churning butter and helped with the cooking, sewing, washing, and ironing. Jenny Simmons said, "I had five beds to make before I went to Central School in the seventh grade."[50] During harvest time, every member of the family worked in the fields. Dan Sparks said, "And harvesting – the girls then just had to work like men... That's what the whole year had been built on."

Even though children had chores to do, work was not the only thing the children did after school. They had many games and activities. William Henry Matthews, Jr., told of amusing himself on the way home from Highland Park School in 1910 by "stopping frequently to fish for 'craw-dads' with a piece of string and bits of meat saved from my lunch."[51] Mrs. Dan Sparks remembered that "one of the delights of young people" in her neighborhood on Olive Street was to meet their father on his way home from work by sliding down the bannisters of the Christian Church. She said, "Of course, we would become so engrossed in sliding down these bannisters that we would never notice that he had passed by... ." As children, Mildred Edwards and her friends amused themselves by chasing bats with fishing canes at twilight. "This was great fun," she said, "but we got knocked in the head as many times as we killed a bat."[52] She quit this game when a boy convinced her that bats loved to make nests in long red braids such as hers.

After the children had completed their evening chores and recreation, the Texarkana mother would then call them inside for supper. She sometimes made homemade soup or a fresh pan of cornbread to accompany the leftovers from dinner kept in the warming closet or safe. Supper was always a light meal, and often no more than cereal and milk.

With no television or radio, after supper the family participated in quiet activities such as reading, doing homework, sewing, or simply relaxing on the porch or in front of the fireplace. Rilla Bennett Rehkopf's description is of a typical mother of that era. "The writer's earliest recollection of Rilla Benentt [sic] Rehkopf, whom all her grandchildren called 'Bamma,' is seeing her in her

favorite rocker by the window, sewing and telling stories to the children at her knee, or reading the books she loved."[53] VeLora Harrell said that in the evenings they read, cut out paper dolls, or listened to stories their mother told.[54] While the mother told stories, she did hand embroidery, pieced quilts, or crocheted. Her hands were never idle.

Another Texarkana resident of 1900 to 1917, Mrs. E.B. Bickley, who lived in the College Hill section of Texarkana, Arkansas, said, "Instead of T.V. or stereo, we enjoyed the old victrola and piano."[55] Many families had Victrolas and almost all owned some type of musical instrument – either a piano or organ. Jenny Simmons said they owned a "blonde maple organ" that her mother and sisters played. Hearol and Ollie Marjorie Markham also said their families enjoyed music. Ollie Marjorie Markham said, "We had an old organ and we got around the organ and all sang... ."[56] Hearol Markham pointed out that it was a tradition for the women of the family to play the organ. "We also had the old pump organ and the boys never did try to play it, but the girls played it some and my mother was a pretty good organ player and a pretty good singer."[57] Wilbur Smith called his mother "an institution," because "she could do anything, and she was a talented piano player in her youth... ."[58]

Besides music, reading played an important part of family life in the evenings. A typical home library consisted of a few treasured books such as these described by R.P. Merrill: "The Bible, McGuffey readers, the blueback speller, Peter Parley's Universal History, The Almanac, the family medical guide, the dictionary, and factual reference books made up the home library."[59] One Texarkana resident said that her family sat in the porch swings every evening and read. "All of us were readers, and it never entered our minds to be bored."[60]

After family Bible reading, which the father usually did, the family often read other materials, such as magazines or newspapers. One Texarkana newspaper of the era, *The Daily Texarkanian,* included a regular feature titled "What Concerns Women," which typifies an article geared toward women during that time. It included these topics: a visit from a cousin, a picnic, the Tuesday Bridge Club Meeting, and an announcement of how "Miss Marie Berger" had broken her finger while playing basketball. It also names participants in a local choral group who performed by singing, playing piano, zither, and saxaphone solos.[61]

Even though some of these topics may seem trite to the woman of today, some statements made by newspapers of that day would not be tolerated by today's woman. For example, under "Pointed Paragraphs" in the March 16, 1910 issue of the *Texarkana Courier,* it says, "The more you let a woman do as she pleases, the less she is pleased." Despite such statements, all of the women interviewed indicated that their mothers were happy, and lacked nothing where women's rights were concerned. Both Wilbur Smith and Jean Craig said, "My mother was boss of the family!" Mildred Evans declared, "As far as Women's Lib is concerned, I've been liberated all my life ... I can't see what the hue-and-cries are all about."[62]

Conditions would soon begin to change for women, however, with women's suffrage on the horizon. *The Delineator,* a popular magazine for women during 1900-1917, included articles on many topics – love, inspirational messages, the latest fashions, and women's suffrage. One article, "The Call of the Race," described how women in California were not only fighting for the vote, but for teachers' pensions, and for "a minimum wage bill for women workers."[63] The newspapers and magazines exposed the Texarkana woman to life as it was then, and how it would be in the future.

After reading, storytelling, singing, or sewing, the mother of the Texarkana household sent her children to bed. Children often slept in trundle beds, which were slightly smaller than the four-poster double beds of the adults. Trundle beds had rollers and slid underneath the parents' bed, which was almost three feet high. They also had sideboards to keep the children from falling out of bed.

Before they lay down on a featherbed mattress with a quilt their mother had made especially for them, the children would often take a bath. The mother would heat water on the woodstove, or use water from the reservoir on the cookstove, and pour it into a washtub either in the kitchen or on the back porch. The families with indoor plumbing might have a water heater as Velora Harrell described: "It was called an Instantaneous Gas Heater," she said, "which after it was lit, would heat only enough water for one bath."[64]

After the children went to bed between 8:00 and 9:00 P.M., the Texarkana homemaker stayed up a while longer, perhaps to finish some needlework, write a letter to a friend, or discuss the day's activities with her husband. She and her husband would then retire, and she would sleep soundly from a full day of service to her home and family.

The life of the Texarkana homemaker from 1900 to 1917 was a fulfilling one centered around her family. Families lived by moral standards outlined by the Bible. Divorces were rare and teenage alcoholism and runaways were almost nonexistent. Without radio and television to influence the minds of her children, the mother was able to pass on her values and encourage her children to read and become useful citizens. Even though the homemaker of yesterday did not vote or share in the work world on an equal basis with men, she possessed a family togetherness and quiet security that often eludes the fast-paced lifestyle of women today. There was a thread of love and a family bond, perhaps formed through the hard work the family shared, that many women of today long to have. As Mildred Edwards stated, "We never wanted for anything – either materially or spiritually,"[65] and as Jenny Simmons stated simply, "And we were so happy."[66]

NOTES

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[46]Smith, 1992.

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[49]Sparks, 1973.

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THE GALVESTON BAY DOCK WARS, 1936-1937

by Don Willett

Irvin Bernstein claimed in *The Turbulent Years: A History of The American Worker 1933-1945* that the 1930s were a militant period of ideological change within the American labor movement.[1] Across the nation, working men and women united in a crusade to better their lot. Often management's stubborn refusal to heed its workers' demands led to wholesale labor violence. Unskilled industrial workers, forgotten for years by the labor movement, cried the loudest. These workers shut down the plants, manned the picket lines, and bore the brunt of labor and management's tragic confrontation.

Maritime labor joined the attempt to assert more control over the work place. On the west coast, longshoremen rallied around an expatriated Australian, Harry Bridges, while seamen pledged their loyalty to Harry Lundeberg. In 1934 these two groups staged a bloody general strike that crippled West Coast commerce and led to a favorable contract to labor.[2] For a number of reasons, East and Gulf Coast maritime workers responded much slower than their West Coast brothers. When they finally moved they released almost 100 years of pent-up frustration. The resulting bloodshed and violence shocked the nation.

East and Gulf Coast seamen entered "The Turbulent Years" on March 2, 1936, when Joe Curran and the rest of the deck department informed the Chief Officer of the *S.S. California* that the ship would not sail from San Pedro, California, until the Panama Pacific Lines paid East Coast seamen the same base wage that West Coast sailors received. The steamship company refused and Curran struck the ship.[3]

The sit-down strike continued until March 5, after Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins telephoned Curran and asked him to end the strike. Curran's refusal led to a heated exchange. Eventually, calmer minds prevailed and the two agreed upon a deal. Secretary Perkins promised to use her "good offices" to convince the Department of Commerce to rescind a threatened charge of mutiny against Curran and his crew members. She also pledged to help the seamen negotiate their wage demand and assured them that they would face no future job discrimination because of the incident.[4] The seamen aboard the *S.S. California* agreed. Later that day the ship sailed to its homeport, New York City.

When the *S.S. California* arrived home, the company fired sixty-four crew members, including Joe Curran. Fortunately, the federal government did not charge these men with mutiny, but unfortunately, it did fine them and permanently mark their employment record with a "declined to report" note on their conduct rating.[5] This punitive action virtually blackballed these men from future employment in the American merchant marine.

Don Willett teaches at Texas A&M University at Galveston.

This turn of events left Joe Curran in a quandary. He already had lost his job and could not ask the company to rehire him. Instead, he packed his sea-bag, walked off the ship, and found the nearest bar. After a few beers, Curran made a decision. He called a spur-of-the-moment strike against the *S.S. California* and the International Mercantile Marine, the parent company of the Panama Pacific Line.[6] It worked. What started out as a simple $5-a-month wage dispute soon became a *cause celebre* that catapulted Joe Curran into national prominence and hurled East and Gulf Coast seamen into "The Turbulent Years."

Curran's strike elicited an immediate response from several sources. The International Seamens Union (ISU), an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, disavowed the protest, labeled its participants "outlaws," and vowed to crush the strike. The shipowners pledged to keep the ships running.[7] The government officials shook their heads. And a surprisingly large number of rank-and-file seamen sided with the "outlaws."

The so-called Spring Strike of 1936 lasted nine weeks and was strictly an amateur affair. The strike spread up and down the East Coast, with most of the action occurring in and around New York City. The steamship companies encountered little difficulty finding ISU seamen and other "scabs" to operate their ships. By late May the rebels called off the strike but vowed to continue the struggle for higher wages.[8]

The Spring Strike never reached Galveston Bay. Texas maritime workers neither established picket lines nor tied-up any ships at the dock. This lack of solidarity with the East Coast rebels did not mean that labor harmony existed on the Texas waterfront.

Discontent in Texas harbors was widespread but disunited. Many longshoremen, led in Corpus Christi by Gilbert Mers and in Houston by Bill Follette, opposed the dictatorial rule of Joe Ryan, president of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA). The year before ILA locals in the Gulf Coast had called a strike for higher wages. Ryan refused to support this action and the strike failed.[9] After this betrayal, many Texas longshoremen looked to Harry Bridges and his followers on the West Coast for inspiration.

Many Texas seamen were equally unhappy. Since the end of World War I, working conditions and wages in the industry continually worsened. Able-Bodied seamen's wages (the rating used to compute a seaman's salary) peaked in 1920 at $85 a month plus overtime. By 1935 some Able-Bodied seamen earned $30 a month for an eighty-four-hour work week.[10] Throughout this debacle the International Seamens Union remained powerless and the shipowners refused to sign a contract with the labor organization.[11]

Early in 1936 discontented seamen and longshoremen met in New Orleans, formed the Maritime Federation of the Gulf Coast, and elected Gilbert Mers their president.[12] These workers, hoping to unify maritime laborers in the Gulf Coast, modeled the new organization after Bridges' and

Lundeberg's powerful Maritime Federation of the Pacific. When word of Curran's strike reached the Gulf members of the Maritime Federation of the Gulf Coast and loyal followers of the established labor unions, the ILA and the ISU challenged each other for hegemony in the Gulf. This showdown quickly led to violence.

By their nature most seamen love to fight. Bar-room brawls and back-alley scuffles are the norm, not the exception. Bloodied noses and blackened eyes are an occupational hazard. This nautical violence seldom elevates to a life-threatening level. By mid-April, 1936, however, a new type of violence swept the Galveston Bay waterfront and reached a flash point on April 23 when Jack Rafferty, an official from the Galveston ISU hall, and two others beat L. Phillipps unconscious in front of the Houston union hall. Two days earlier local officials had expelled Phillipps for wearing a Maritime Federation of the Gulf Coast button. Phillipps' beating was the eighteenth such act in three weeks.[13]

An investigator in the Houston district attorney office, Earl Hind, fearing more violence, quickly increased police surveillance throughout the port. Still the violence increased. The Houston and Galveston press soon labeled the situation "The Houston Dock War" and Hind admitted that "beef gangs of waterfront thugs" had the upper hand.[14]

The situation reached a second flashpoint on April 30 when William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, appealed to both sides to end the violence. That evening "the beef squad" assaulted twenty members of the Maritime Federation of the Gulf Coast.[15] This type of black-and-blue unionism continued until May 28, when Curran called off the Spring Strike. Overnight, the violence subsided and an eerie calm blanketed the waterfront.

After the strike both sides attempted to consolidate their position. ISU officials tried to force dissidents out of the union by ejecting them from union meetings and denying them jobs. Curran's troops recruited new followers and united with dissidents along the Gulf. The New York-Galveston Bay link was Bill Follette, a Houston longshoreman who edited *The Ship Channel,* the local rebel newspaper.[16]

One group of seamen that the dissidents tried to influence was the black mariner. Both the ISU and the shipowners practiced racial and job discrimination against black seamen. The only jobs open to blacks were in the steward's department. Yet, during times of labor unrest shipowners encouraged blacks to "scab" against white strikers. Once the strike ended it was "business as usual" with the black seamen again out of a job. As a result few blacks joined the Spring Strike in 1936.

The *Seminole* affair changed that situation. On June 17, 1936, the steward's department of the *S.S. Seminole,* a Clyde Mallory Line freighter-passenger ship, struck in Galveston. Their demand for fifty-cents-per-hour overtime met stiff resistance from company officials. But a third-party promise to discuss all grievances at the company's New York City headquarters gained

widespread approval. The strikers agreed to end the sit-down and prepared to return to work. At that moment the company's agent returned to the ship, boasting, "To hell with the Niggers, we'll take the B....ds to sea and make them work." After that racist outburst the entire group again refused to work. The strike was short lived and the ship sailed on time.

When the *Seminole* returned to New York the company fired twenty-nine ring leaders of the strike. A threat by other black crews to "sit down" all Clyde Mallory ships forced the company to cancel all scheduled cruises. This unexpected militancy by the black crew members shocked the company and became a catalyst for improved relations between black seamen and the rebel group. This courageous act of defiance, in many ways similar to Joe Curran's "sit-down" on the *S.S. California,* elicited a positive response from the outlawed seaman's movement. In part the *ISU Pilot,* the rebels' mouthpiece, noted:

> The militant example shown by our colored brothers ... is proof that once guaranteed that they have the support of the white seamen, that we will fight with them for equal opportunity to earn a living, they will fight with us shoulder to shoulder on the next picket line. The shipowners (Sic) can only defeat us when our ranks are divided but once we forget our petty bickering and unite, regardless of race or creed or color then we will force the shipowners to his knees.[17]

This call for racial unity among all militant seamen, the so-called *Seminole* Pledge, drove a wedge into the shipowners' racial discrimination policies. It also signaled the beginning of an enlightened racial policy that thrust the East and Gulf Coast seamen's movement into the forefront of organized labor's long struggle against Jim Crow segregation.[18]

Everyone on the waterfront knew that the Spring Strike was not the end of the struggle. Most believed that another strike loomed in the future, and each side sent leading representatives to Galveston Bay in the hope of firming support in this crucial maritime labor outpost.

On August 3, Ivan Hunter, the secretary-treasurer of the ISU, addressed over 400 seamen at the Galveston union hall. The seamen warmly greeted Hunter and the Galveston Labor Council, which consisted of AFL unions active in the city, unanimously backed the ISU. In his speech Hunter shifted blame for the local maritime unrest from the Communist Party to the Maritime Association of Galveston and Houston. In a speech on April 30, Hunter had suggested that the sole purpose of the outlaw strike was "To destroy the International Seamen's Union and substitute a Communist controlled organization in its place." In the Galveston speech he attacked the Maritime Association of Galveston and Houston, the local affiliate of the Maritime Federation of the Gulf Coast, and suggested that this local organization was allied with the shipowners and against the seamen.[19] In effect, Hunter argued that the Maritime Federation of the Gulf, not the International Seamen's Union, was the reactionary group.

Two weeks later Joe Curran arrived in Houston and quickly set the tome for the upcoming strike. On August 17 Curran addressed dissident seamen at their favorite hangout, the Ship Channel Club. He talked about the seamen's situation with the shipowners, the union, and the federal government. Much to everyone's surprise, several uninvited Houston policemen interrupted the meeting. It seemed that someone had informed the officers that a dangerous communist had come to the Bayou City to stir up trouble. After the speech the police told Curran to come with them. Fearing the worst, Curran feigned a trip to the bathroom and sneaked out the backdoor. He jumped into an awaiting car and sped to Port Arthur.[20]

The Fall Strike began on October 31. When Curran's followers "hit the bricks," Galveston Bay maritime workers willingly followed suit. Houston seamen joined the strike that day while Galveston seamen waited until November 2 before they walked out. In both instances the Maritime Federation of the Gulf Coast, not the Curran faction, called the strike.[21]

The strike started on a sour note. Houston seamen decided to establish picket lines at strategic locations. At one of these sites a nasty confrontation developed. N.G. Fite, president of the Houston Dockworkers Council, allowed members of the black ILA local to cross the seamen's picket line. Tensions ran high and everyone expected trouble. "This is a hell of a thing. We're all union men," shouted one of the striking seamen. "Yes, and we were all union men when the ILA was fighting for its life a year ago' replied Fite, 'And what did you seamen do'? Went on the ships and got the steam up for the scabs."[22] The seamen had no response.

Fite's statement was correct. When ILA members in the Gulf called a strike in 1935 the ISU refused to honor the picket line. One year later the shoe was on the other foot. There would be no Galveston Bay maritime labor solidarity during the Fall Strike. Instead, seamen faced opposition from all sides – from their union, the ISU; from the longshoremen's union, the ILA; from the shipowners; and from various Texas law enforcement agencies.

When the strike began the police departments in Galveston and Houston took a decidedly anti-labor position. In Galveston, Chief of Police Tony Messina moved quickly to defuse the situation. Three days after the rebels called the strike the police chief arrested thirty-eight picketers and charged them with causing a riot. As Messina piled the seamen into the paddy-wagon, he prophesied, "I'll break up these mobs or wear out the jail trying."[23]

The Houston police department took an equally tough stand. When seamen first set up picket lines, Police Chief B.W. Payne placed Lieutenant J.E. Murry in charge of waterfront law enforcement. Murry ordered his men to "clean up all joints" and remove all undesirables from the area. Payne and Murry also limited the strikers to two pickets per ship. On November 3, Chief Payne changed his mind and ordered the seamen to remove all picket lines from the port or face arrest for vagrancy. When seamen failed to heed his warning, he arrested 161 picketers. Shortly afterwards a court injunction

reinstated the seamen's right to establish their picket lines.[24]

The "Houston Dock Wars" resumed when the Fall Strike began. In Galveston the police arrested twelve strikers and charged them with the assault and robbery of two black crew members from a Clyde Mallory cruise ship. Eight seamen from a non-union tanker crew wandered too near the Houston rank-and-file headquarters. This foolish mistake cost them a trip to the hospital. On another occasion a female taxi driver, who helped haul picketing seamen to the port of Houston, forgot to check her passengers' strike credentials. The three passengers kidnapped the woman and threatened her with bodily harm if she continued to aid the strikers.[25]

Before the renegade seamen "hit the bricks," public officials from the Galveston Bay area called for outside help to quell the violence. Harris County commissioners authorized T.A. Binford, the county sheriff, to employ and deputize seventy-three additional law enforcement officers. The county assigned these dollar-a-year deputies to the port area. After the strike began the county commissioners asked Governor James Allred and the Texas Department of Public Safety for help. The DPS sent the Texas Rangers.[26] If the inscription "One Riot, One Ranger," on the Texas Ranger statue at Dallas' Love Field is true, then the six Texas Rangers who headed for the Port of Houston must have expected the worst.

The steamship operators and the ISU made contingency plans to overcome any labor shortages aboard contract vessels. Shortly after the strike began local ISU officials declared that any work stoppage on a contract vessel was an illegal strike. As a further precaution local officials also removed all members of the Maritime Federation of the Gulf Coast from the union's roster. To ensure that ships outbound from Galveston Bay sailed with a full crew, the ISU asked for volunteers, especially from the Great Lakes, to come to Texas and man all ships tied up by the outlaws. The union also opened its membership to anyone willing to cross the rebel picket line.[27]

Fearing the worst, steamship operators, especially Lykes Brothers Steamship Company, the largest shipping company operating in the Gulf, purchased space in the help-wanted section of several Dallas and Fort Worth newspapers asking Tarrant and Dallas county residents to consider a new career in the merchant marine. The ads promised free transportation and a job to any Trinity River sailor who would come to Galveston Bay and cross the outlaws' picket line.[28] Few accepted this generous offer of employment.

The striking seamen made plans to counter any attempt to flood the waterfront with strikebreakers. In Galveston strikers stationed cars on the causeway and followed suspicious looking vehicles into town. If the occupants were ISU "volunteers," a rumble usually resulted or the suspect experienced a conversion to rank-and-file unionism. In the Bayou City striking seamen patrolled the local Greyhound Bus terminal and queried suspicious characters about their maritime employment status. However, Houston law enforcement agents quickly squelched such tactics. One evening the police

arrested four striking seamen when they asked an undercover agent, "Are you off a ship?" A quick frisk of the suspects produced a short piece of rubber hose, a blackjack, and a pistol.[29]

By the third week of the strike the ISU shifted its office from the waterfront to the Cotton Exchange Building in downtown Houston. Overnight, the outlaws set-up a picket line around the building. On November 27 the Houston police arrested thirty-six seamen for "carrying a banner without a permit." Undaunted by this rebuff, more seamen showed-up the next day with a witty sign that said "You can't do that." Apparently, Police Chief Payne failed to appreciate this humor. He arrested the eighteen picketers. The following day forty-two more sign-carrying seamen received a one-way ticket to the city jail.[30]

Each day more picketers arrived at the building. The object of their ire was Wilbur Dickey, the Houston ISU business agent. The striking seamen claimed that Dickey had transferred union records without the rank-and-file's consent. The dissidents also believed that Dickey used the union office to recruit strike breakers.[31]

The situation exploded on December 4 when union members demanded that Dickey produce all records. Rather than comply, Dickey and two bodyguards ran to the back of the building and exited through an open window. Once outside the three men ran into a group of seamen who had been guarding the rear of the building. A tense confrontation ensued. As the seamen closed in, Dickey pulled a revolver and shot one of the rank-and-filers, Johnny Kane, in the abdomen. Kane fell backward and collapsed to the ground. The other seamen surged forward and attacked Dickey and his friends. Only the timely intervention by several Houston police saved Dickey's life.[32]

The shooting of Johnny Kane shocked the community. The next day the Houston National Bank sponsored a telephone broadcast from the strike headquarters on radio station KTRK. Houstonians generously responded to the strikers' urgent plea for blood transfusions and money to pay for the seaman's medical bills.[33] These good intentions proved inadequate; Johnny Kane died on December 15. Labor leaders from Houston and striking seamen from the Galveston Bay area attended the martyred seaman's funeral.[34]

Johnny Kane was not the only Texan to die as a result of the Houston Dock Wars. Five days after the Kane shooting, eight seamen from the tanker *W.L. Steed* left the Galveston drydocks and headed downtown to Post Office Street for a night on the town. Later that evening fifteen striking seamen assaulted the tankermen outside a bar. The ensuing scuffle sent eight men to the U.S. Marine Hospital. On December 14, Peter Banfield, a seaman from the *W.L. Steed*, died from multiple stab wounds about the chest and abdomen. Kane and Banfield were two of twenty-eight seamen nationwide who died in the Fall Strike.[35]

The Banfield murder intensified efforts by Galveston officials to end

violence on the waterfront. Mayor Adrian Levy ordered the police department to place ten additional patrolmen on harbor patrol. Mayor Levy noted, "I am determined to put a stop to the violence here." O.E. Casey, city commissioner in charge of the fire and police department, agreed with the Mayor: "The police will no longer temporize with the situation. The police will stop terrorism here."[36]

The steamship operators, particularly Lykes Brothers, worked behind the scene to end the strike in Galveston. They employed a divide-and-conquer tactic to weaken the strikers' will to continue. On December 1, James Lykes, president and general manager of the Lykes Lines, opened separate negotiation with the Master Mates and Pilots (MMP), representing the deck officers, and the Marine Engineers Benevolent Association (MEBA), which represented the engineers. The two organizations joined the strike on November 23 and manned the picket lines for one week. However, on December 1, these officers presented six major demands to the shipowners, including a closed shop, vacation for twelve months of continuous service in any company, and "a reasonable wage scale in accordance with the present standard of living." Lykes broke off the negotiations with the striking officers and announced a pay increase for all licensed personnel not on strike. However, in a surprise move on December 13, Lykes signed a contract with MMP and MEBA.[37]

Although Lykes Brothers showed some flexibility with its licensed personnel on strike, the company maintained a hard line against the rebels. R.E. Tipton, executive vice president of the Lykes Lines, echoed company policy when he noted, "We cannot be placed in the position of violating a contract to make another, particularly so with a group whose movements have been branded as an outlaw strike, and agitated by communist, by the AFL." This threat, along with increased police surveillance in the harbor area and the signed officer's contracts, broke the Galveston strikers' will to continue.[38]

After the shooting of Johnny Kane the Houston strikers refocused their efforts on the port area. The rebels continued to picket the docks and both sides resumed their daily ritual of beatings, kidnappings, and harassment. As the Christmas holidays neared everyone on the waterfront showed the strain of this long and deadly showdown, but neither side displayed a willingness to quit.

On December 23 the strike rose to a new level of violence. That night the Houston police, on orders from Lt. J.E. Murry, forcefully removed the pickets from their post, transported them to the dock police station, and beat them. When asked about the incident Murry said he "wanted to stop the beating of non-union men." Strikers quickly labeled this police action a "Reign of Terror."[39] They did not know that the worst was still to come.

The next morning, Christmas Eve, the seamen re-established their picket lines and things returned to normal. The day passed uneventfully and nightfall gave no hint of potential trouble. The holiday calm shattered later that

evening when fifty policemen, armed with tear gas, blackjacks, guns, and fists, "cleaned out" the waterfront. First the police force, with the aid of several non-striking seamen, chased the pickets off the docks. Then Murry and his men attacked the local seamen haunts. The police beat 150 seamen and an undetermined number of local bystanders. Eighteen of these victims required hospitalization.[40]

Reaction to the police riot was swift and poignant. Acting Police Chief R.T. Honea rushed to the scene, quickly relieved Murry of all waterfront duties, and ordered an immediate investigation. Local newspaper reports, which suggested that many policemen were intoxicated, made the situation worse. One angry editorial, titled "Hell at Port Houston," noted that police "actions are the foulest shame that has yet come to Houston." When Curran heard about the incident, he labeled it "The Christmas Eve Massacre."[41] Apparently the rest of the nation agreed.

Shortly after the Houston mayoral election in 1936, several members of the Seamen's Joint Strike Committee approached Mayor-Elect R.H. Fonville and asked him to form a citizens' committee to investigate the strike. The rebels hoped that this panel could act as an intermediary between the strikers and the Lykes Brothers Steamship Company and exert some pressure on the giant shipping company to negotiate with the dissidents. The Houston Better Business Bureau also endorsed the idea.[42]

When Fonville became mayor of Houston he moved quickly to settle the strike and end the Houston Dock Wars. On January 3, he appointed three prominent citizens, Burke Baker, Earle Amerman, and Gus Wortham to a citizen's committee to investigate the seamen's strike in Houston. Fonville also empowered the panel to negotiate a settlement of the long and bloody labor dispute. The board met with James Lykes, who expressed a desire to reach an agreement. In Lykes' opinion the only stumbling block was the continual bickering between the waterfront factions.[43] Lykes Brothers did not sign a new seamen's contract until after the strike.

Next, Fonville initiated a new strategy to stop the escalating waterfront violence in Houston. He appointed Chester Williams the new police chief. Williams, a veteran of the Houston police force, had a reputation as a tough but fair cop. He promptly removed sixteen "special officers" who had been assigned to the dock area by the previous administration and replaced them with ten regular policemen. Williams announced that he would no longer assign patrol duties to law enforcement agents who lacked a civil-service status.[44] This pronouncement shifted the Houston Police force from a pro-shipowner, anti-strike stance to a neutral law enforcement policy. The striking seamen responded positively to this turn of events. Almost over night violence on the Houston waterfront subsided to pre-strike levels. The Houston Dock War was over.

The Fall Strike dragged on for another three weeks. On January 21, 2,000 rebel seamen met at the New York City strike headquarters and voted

to end the strike if the out-ports concurred. Houston and Galveston at first hesitated but eventually agreed.[44]

The Spring and Fall seamen's strike permanently altered the American merchant marine. The ISU's policy of using strikebreakers and beef gangs to crush the outlawed seamen's movement so alienated the rank-and-file that in May 1937 they formed a new union, The National Maritime Union. When the ISU asked the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to conduct representation elections, over eighty percent of the Gulf and East Coast mariners voted for the National Maritime Union.[46]

The new union called its first national convention in July 1937. The first order of business was the constitution of the union, one of the most extraordinary documents to evolve from "The Turbulent Years." The highlight occurred when the convention, echoing the *Seminole* Pledge, unanimously agreed that "no person shall be excluded from membership by reason of race, color, religious beliefs, sex and/or political affiliation."[47] Unfortunately, the rest of American society waited over three decades before they tackled racial and sexual discrimination.

Seamen in Galveston Bay flocked to the National Maritime Union. Shortly after the NLRB elections the American Federation of Labor, seeing the handwriting on the wall, disbanded the International Seamen's Union. This act gave the National Maritime Union hegemony over all East and Gulf Coast sailors. The ISU halls in Galveston and Houston, recently the scene of much hatred and violence, shut down.

The new union established hiring halls in both cities and quickly asserted its dominance over the Galveston Bay maritime labor market. During its formative years the union faced several crises, including an in-house revolt by Gulf Coast members, a disastrous strike against the nation's leading tanker operators, the birth of a rival AFL affiliated Seamen's union – the Seafarers International Union – and a violent right-wing coup that almost toppled Curran.[48] The union successfully weathered these storms and eventually grew into a strong and stable labor organization.

In Texas the rebel seamen's overthrow of the ISU left Texas maritime workers with two powerful unions, the International Longshoremen's Association and the National Maritime Union. Most Texas working men have avoided unions like the plague. But, most Texas seamen and longshoremen continue to choose nationally-affiliated unions as their collective bargaining agents. Galveston Bay remains a stronghold for Texas organized labor.

NOTES

[1]Irvin Bernstein. *The Turbulent Years: A History of the American Worker, 1933-1941* (Boston, 1970).

[2]Literature on the 1934 West Coast strike abounds. A good beginning is Charles P. Larrowe's two articles in *Labor History*, Charles Larrowe, "The Great Maritime Strike of '34: Part I," *Labor History* 11 (Fall, 1970), pp. 403-451: "The Great Maritime Strike of '34: Part II." *Labor*

History 12 (Winter, 1971), pp. 3-37 and his biography of Harry Bridges, Charles Larrowe, *Harry Bridges: The Rise and Fall of Radical Labor in the United States* (Connecticut, 1972).

[3]National Archives, Record Group 41, Records of the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation, *Strike File 1936,* File 102.3-9 #3, no title, no date. Hereafter citations of this nature will be given as: BMIN, File number, *Strike File 1936,* Title (if any) and Date (if any).

[4]Joe Curran, *Interview,* Columbia University Oral History Collection, pp. 52-54; New York *Times,* March 6, 1936, p. 43.

[5]New York *Times,* March 5, 1936, p. 45; March 20, 1936, p. 29; BMIN, File 102.3-9 #3, *Strike File 1936,* no title, no date; *Seamen's Journal,* March 1936, pp. 68-69.

[6]*ISU Pilot,* March 20, 1936, p. 1.

[7]Joe Curran, *Oral Memoirs,* Joe Curran Papers, Archives, Texas A&M University, p. 129.

[8]Curran, *Columbia Interview,* p. 57; *ISU Pilot,* May 29, 1936, p. 1.

[9]Gilbert Mers, *Working the Waterfront: The Ups and Downs of a Rebel Longshoreman* (Austin, 1988), pp. 88-113.

[10]Joseph Goldberg, *The Maritime Story: A Study in Labor-Management Relations* (Cambridge, 1958), p. 127; *The Marine Workers Voice,* November, 1932; April, 1933, p. 1. Coal passers wages dropped to $25.00 per month and Ordinary Seamen's monthly wages sank to $17.50.

[11]*Seamens Journal,* January 1, 1935, April 1, 1936, p. 65. Between 1921 and 1935 East and Gulf Coast shipowners refused to sign a contract with the International Seamans Union.

[12]Mers, *Working the Waterfront,* p. 125; Houston *Press,* April 30, 1936.

[13]Galveston *Daily News,* April 26, 1936; Houston *Press,* April 30, 1936.

[14]Galveston *Daily News,* April 24, 1936.

[15]Galveston *Daily News,* April 30, 1936.

[16]*The Ship Channel* was a mimeographed newspaper-handout that Follette and later Francis P. O'Donahue edited. A complete run of this interesting paper may be found in folders 24 and 25 of the Gilbert Mers *Papers.* They are housed at the archives of the Houston Public Library.

[17]*ISU Pilot,* June 19, 1936, p. 5.

[18]Donald Willett, "Joe Curran and the National Maritime Union, 1936-1945" (Ph.D. Dissertation: Texas A&M University, 1985). pp. 55-56, p. 189.

[19]*The Union Review,* May 15, 1936, August 7, 1936.

[20]*The Ship Channel,* August 22, 1936; Mers, *Working the Waterfront,* pp. 144-146.

[21]Galveston *Daily News,* November 1, 1936, November 3, 1936.

[22]Houston *Press,* November 2, 1936.

[23]Galveston *Daily News,* November 6, 1936.

[24]Mers *Papers,* folder 11, November 25, 1936, N.J. Nicholson to Follette; Houston *Press,* November 3, 1936, November 11, 1936, November 18, 1936.

[25]Galveston *Daily News,* November 14, 1936, November 18, 1936, November 23, 1936.

[26]Galveston *Daily News,* November 17, 1936. The list of special deputies may be found in the Mers *Papers,* folder 13, September 17, 1936. Governor Allred sent the Texas Rangers to Galveston Bay on November 16, 1936.

[27]Galveston *Daily News,* November 18, 1936, Houston *Press,* November 2, 1936.

[28]Galveston *Daily News,* November 19, 1936.

[29]Galveston *Daily News,* November 18, 1936, Houston *Press,* November 9, 1936.

[30]Houston *Press,* November 27, 1936, November 30, 1936, December 1, 1936.

[31]Houston *Press,* December 1, 1936.

[32]Houston, *Press,* December 5, 1936.

[33]Mers *Papers,* folder 11, December 6, 1936, Fred Halistrap to Follette. Johnny Kane's real name was James Kaney.

[34]Mers, *Working the Waterfront,* pp. 168-169.

[34]Galveston *Daily News,* December 9, 1936, December 14, 1936, December 16, 1936; National Maritime Union, Bernard Raskin, *"On a True Course" The Story of the National Maritime Union of America AFL-CIO,* (Washington D.C., 1967), p. 37; Richard Boyer, *The Dark Ship,* (Boston, 1947), p. 198.

[36]Galveston *Daily News,* December 11, 1936.

[37]Galveston, *Daily News,* December 2, 1936, December 12, 1936, December 14, 1936.

[38]Galveston *Daily News,* December 12, 1936; Mers *Papers,* folder 10, Robert Gurtov to Bill Follette, December 18, 1936.

[39]Houston *Press,* December 24, 1936.

[40]Mers *Papers,* folder 10, December 25, 1936; Houston *Press,* December 25, 1936.

[41]New York *times,* December 30, 1936; Houston *Post,* December 25, 1936. The editorial is found in the Houston *Press,* December 26, 1936.

[42]Mers Papers, folder 10, Robert Gurtov to Bill Follette, December 18, 1936. N.J. Nicholson to Bill Follette, December 21, 1936, N.J. Nicholson to Bill Follette, December 23, 1936.

[43]Houston *Press,* January 4, 1937.

[44]Houston *Press,* January 9, 1937.

[45]New York *Times,* January 22, 1937, January 25, 1937.

[46]U.S., Department of Commerce, National Labor Relations Board, *Decisions and Orders of the National Labor Relations Board,* (Washington D.C., 1935-present), vols. II, IV, V, VI, VII, various pages.

[47]National Maritime Union, *Constitution of the National Maritime Union of America,* (New York, n.d. (1937?), see Article XVII, Sec. 2; National Maritime Union, *Proceedings of the First Constitutional Convention of the National Maritime Union of America,* (New York, 1937), pp. 269-270.

[48]Willett, "Joe Curran," 78-136; Donald Willett, "The 1939 Tanker Strike," *International Journal of Maritime History* Vol. II (June, 1990), pp. 155-173.

RALPH YARBOROUGH OF TEXAS AND THE ROAD TO CIVIL RIGHTS

by Ernest M.B. Obadele-Starks

In 1964 United States Senator Ralph W. Yarborough of Texas broke with Southern tradition and voted in favor of the Civil Rights Act. He was the only Southern senator from the eleven original secessionist states to cast a yea vote for the Act.[1] Between 1957 and 1964 debate over legislation to extend civil rights beyond public transportation and public education grew increasingly intense. A study of Senator Yarborough offers historians a unique perspective on this critical period in United States history and produces a first-hand account of the forces shaping the critical transition from the Civil Rights Act of 1957 to the Civil Rights Act of 1964. A study of Yarborough can assist one in formulating a comparative analysis of his account and the account of other historians and policymakers relative to the civil rights era. As a Southern liberal in favor of civil rights, Yarborough offers a sharp contrast to the more conservative Southern senators who opposed civil rights legislation.

Unlike Yarborough, most Southern senators followed the traditional politics of their region and rejected the measure. The spirit of this tradition is reflected in the Southern Manifesto. Reacting to the *Brown v. Topeka* (1954) decision, nineteen senators and twenty-seven representatives from eleven Southern states signed the Manifesto, a clear political declaration of war on desegregation and civil rights. This decree, issued in 1956, stated:

> We pledge ourselves to use all lawful means to bring about the reversal of this decision which is contrary to the constitution and to prevent the use of force in its implementation. In this trying period, as we all seek to right this wrong, we appeal to our people not to be provoked by the agitators and troublemakers invading our states and to scrupulously refrain from disorder and lawless acts.[2]

Many policymakers from Texas followed the lead of other Southern politicians and signed the Manifesto. In the United States House of Representatives, Wright Patman, John Dowdy, Walter Rogers, and O.C. Fisher signed the declaration. In the Senate, Price Daniel did so. Contrary to his Southern colleagues, Yarborough refused to sign. When the civil rights issue became a central concern at the national level, he said:

> The Southern Senators signed the Manifesto. When I got elected, they wrote me ... some of them ... to come join them. I wasn't about to ... They got mad as hell that I wouldn't sign the Manifesto ... Hell, I wasn't for it.[3]

Yarborough's liberal mindset can be attributed partially to his East Texas heritage. Born in Chandler, Texas, a small town of approximately 500 people in Henderson County, Yarborough recalls the relationship between

Ernest M.B. Obadele-Starks is a full time lecturer at Sam Houston State University.

blacks and whites as a relatively good one. Although his region was segregated, Yarborough suggests that:

> there was not a hard feeling between the blacks and the whites ... it was a rural town that was solely farming and it boasted never a lynching ... it was a different feeling between the blacks and the whites than it was on the other side of the river.[4]

For several years, Yarborough was a key figure in Texas politics. His initial encounter with public office came with his appointment as an assistant attorney general in 1930. Yarborough's primary responsibility was to manage the state school fund.[5] In 1936 Yarborough was appointed to a state judgeship in the 53rd District Court, and later was elected to a four-year term.[6] His leadership on the bench and his commitment to equal justice earned him respect and also increased his visibility in public life.[7] In 1938, Yarborough decided to campaign for the attorney general's office. Although he was defeated, the experience of campaigning and the public attention he received were valuable to his political career.[8] Then World War II temporarily interrupted his public life. The outbreak of the war prompted Yarborough to enlist in the United States Army. His stint in the military took him to the Rhineland, Czechoslovakia, and eventually to the South Pacific.[9]

Following the war, Yarborough returned to politics and challenged Allan Shivers for governor in 1952. Unlike Shivers, the "Yarborough Coalition" included small farmers of East Texas, workers in small factories and in the larger industries of major cities, small businessmen, officials of college campuses, leaders of labor unions, teacher organizations, the poor, Mexicans, and African Americans. Yarborough contends that the "bait-and-switch," mudslinging, and character assassination tactics of Shivers eventually cost him the race.[10] Yarborough's loss, however, did not destroy his spirit to win the governorship, and in 1954, he challenged Shivers for a second time.

A central issue in the governor's race in 1954 was desegregation. Shivers attacked Yarborough by claiming that the East Texan's campaign was financed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and that the N.A.A.C.P. was "boastfully declaring it was going to end segregation in social activities and in every phase of daily living – and quickly." Shivers' objective was to get Yarborough to commit to a stand on segregation. Yarborough responded to Shivers' attack by asserting that he was for "a free choice" but was not in favor of the "forced mingling of children where they don't want to go."[11] Yarborough's assertion may lead one to believe that he was pro-segregation. Since busing was not a major concern during the late 1950s, in retrospect, Yarborough's position on forced integration was influenced by the politics of the times. Supporting equal public education, Yarborough could attract the attention of the African American community and by rejecting forced integration he could avoid alienation of the white community.[12]

Yarborough's unsuccessful bid for the governorship led him to seek a

seat in the United States Senate.[13] In his successful senatorial race in 1957, Yarborough relied on much of the constituency that supported him for governor but he promised to serve all the people of the Lone Star State.[14] As a neophyte, Yarborough was in the Senate when Judiciary Sub-Committee Chairman Thomas C. Hennings of Missouri recommended that the committee intensify action on a proposed Civil Rights Bill which offered greater federal protection for voting rights. Hennings' motion to present the legislation to the full Judiciary Committee was defeated by a 2-5 vote. Hennings' motion to limit the civil rights hearings to two hours was likewise rejected by the Sub-Committee. Nevertheless, on June 20, 1957, the full Senate superceded the Sub-Committee and voted in favor of placing the bill on the Senate calendar. The strategy of the full Senate pressured the Committee to begin serious consideration of the bill.[15]

Later that year, seventeen Southern Senators held to Southern political tradition and voted against the 1957 Civil Rights Bill.[16] However, Yarborough and Lyndon Johnson of Texas went against this tradition and voted in favor of the measure. Although each man had his own motivations in voting for the bill, Yarborough contends that, unlike Johnson, he merely voted his conviction and also supported it for "economic reasons and for having promised the blacks equal rights." Yarborough clearly is reluctant, however, to offer any reciprocal praise of Lyndon Johnson and his motives:

> He had always been viewed as a conservative ... and in 1957 Johnson switched from being anti-civil rights to civil rights ... he switched because I got elected in Texas with the help of the black vote and he was kind of dismayed... His horrible record helped me... I was the only Democrat left that had any kind of progressive record.[17]

OLD CONFEDERACY SENATORS CIVIL RIGHTS VOTE IN 1957		
Alabama	Hill (No)	Sparkman (DNV)
Arkansas	Fulbright (No)	McClellan (No)
Florida	Holland (No)	Smathers (No)
Georgia	Russell (No)	Talmadge (No)
Louisiana	Ellender (No)	Long (No)
Mississippi	Eastland (No)	Stennis (No)
North Carolina	Ervin (DNV)	Scott (No)
South Carolina	Thurmond (No)	Johnston (DNV)
Tennessee	Gore (Yes)	Kefauver (Yes)
*Texas	Johnson (Yes)	Yarborough (Yes)
Virginia	Byrd (No)	Robertson (No)

Yarborough's implications of Johnson's opportunistic change from an anti-civil rights record to a positive stance is supported amply in the writings of contemporaries and historians in their interpretation of the Texas politician. Booth Mooney, Johnson's former assistant and speech writer, contends that Johnson exhausted most of his energies in uniting opposing forces of the Civil Rights Bill, and for several weeks remained silent on his position until he was able to appease both opponents and proponents of the measure before

publicly stating his position. There can be little argument, however, that Johnson had a keen political mind and did not hesitate to use it, particularly on issues relating to civil rights legislation. And the Yarborough and Johnson combination greatly impacted national legislation on civil rights.[18]

By 1959, the civil rights phase of the African-American freedom struggle, led by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., was coming of age. The political popularity of Ralph Yarborough and Johnson intensified. The Senate Judiciary Committee continued to hear opposing and supporting arguments on a new civil rights bill. By July of that year, the Committee approved a new measure which was designed to enhance the power of the Civil Rights Commission and the attorney general.[19] The Judiciary Committee's approval of the bill was unusual, since in the past it had circumvented reporting civil rights legislation to the full Senate. Fearing it would not pass at the committee level, Johnson and Senator Everett Dirksen of Illinois proposed that the full Senate debate the new legislation.[20] On March 29, 1960, Johnson initiated a Senate debate on the new Civil Rights Bill, and later that year the full Senate debated and passed the measure.[21] An extension of the previous act, the new law reinforced the right of citizens to vote and also reaffirmed the authority of the Civil Rights Commission to investigate civil rights violations. It failed, however, to provide adequate legal protection for citizens in public accommodations and public transportation.[22] Yarborough and Johnson, as in 1957, voted in favor of the Civil Rights Act of 1960, and as a result of their actions were labeled as "double-crossers" of traditional Southern politics by other Southerns.[23]

OLD CONFEDERACY SENATORS CIVIL RIGHTS VOTE IN 1960

Alabama	Sparkman (No)	Hill (DNV)
Arkansas	Fulbright (No)	McClellan (No)
Florida	Holland (No)	Smathers (No)
Georgia	Russell (No)	Talmadge (No)
Louisiana	Ellender (No)	Long (No)
Mississippi	Eastland (No)	Stennis (No)
North Carolina	Ervin (No)	Jordon (No)
South Carolina	Johnston (No)	Thurmond (No)
Tennessee	Gore (Yes)	Kefauver (Yes)
*Texas	Johnson (Yes)	Yarborough (Yes)
Virginia	Byrd (No)	Robertson (No)

Although Yarborough and Johnson consistently voted for civil rights legislation after 1957, Yarborough argues that they differed in their motivation and convictions. Yarborough claims his primary motivation stemmed from a genuine concern to create equal rights under the law for all people, and Johnson's position on civil rights was simply a means to achieve his personal political aspirations. Like Yarborough, others also viewed Johnson as a man who could sense the political wind shifting and was capable of changing his direction before the wind did.[24] But Johnson's speech at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania,

on May 30, 1963, offers no evidence of a radical shift from 1957:

> Until justice is blind to color, until education is unaware of race, until opportunity is unconcerned with the color of men's skin, emancipation will be a proclamation but not a fact. To the extent we shall have fallen short of assuring freedom to the free.[25]

Johnson's address reflected the urgent concern for the social and political turmoil that the country was experiencing at the time. The Albany, Georgia, protest march, riots at the University of Mississippi as James Meredith attempted to enroll, George Wallace's affirmation of segregation, Bull Connors' ordering of police dogs and water horses on Birmingham protesters, and the arrest of Dr. King and other demonstrators characterize the unstable social climate of the early 1960s. Expectations of African Americans continued to rise and many of its leaders began to call for a more extensive civil rights bill than those of 1957 and 1960. Thus, in 1963, another civil rights bill designed to outlaw discrimination in all public accommodations and institutions was proposed.

On July 16, 1963, Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman James O. Eastland of Mississippi opened committee hearings on the proposed legislation. To avoid any delay by Chairman Eastland or the committee, in February 1964 the full Senate placed the civil rights issue on the Senate Calendar, and on March 9, 1964, Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana motioned to begin Senate debate on the measure.[26] Civil rights leaders and activists intensified their involvement and pressured President John F. Kennedy to push harder for the new law. However, Kennedy, like many presidents, was reluctant to move swiftly on civil rights legislation. According to Yarborough, Kennedy would have pushed forcefully for the legislation had he lived for a second term:

> I don't think it would have passed as soon as it did under Johnson because I don't think Kennedy would have pushed it before he got re-elected and I believe he was going to be re-elected because that man had charisma such as I have never seen in any other human being! He had appeal!... That is the most brilliant man I've ever been acquainted with in my life... .[27]

Kennedy's commitment to civil rights is debatable since there is evidence that "civil rights was not a burning issue with Kennedy" and was not a part of his legislative history in Congress.[28] As president, it was clear that he harbored serious concerns about his image with Southern senators:

> If we drive Sparkman, Hill and other moderate Southerners to the wall with a lot of civil rights demands that can't pass anyway, then what happens to the Negro on minimum wages, housing, and the rest?[29]

An examination of Kennedy's political ability certainly leaves room for criticism since the civil rights movement and the new civil rights bill suffered numerous setbacks and could have "fared better" if Kennedy had made racial equality a part of his primary agenda rather than a secondary concern.

After all, blacks played a significant role in Kennedy's presidential victory in 1960 and many felt they deserved more attention from the president.[30]

By the end of 1963, Kennedy was dead and the burden of moving civil rights legislation through Congress was in the hands of the new president, Lyndon Johnson. Kennedy's death affected the entire country and threatened to stall the "humanitarian" progress of the country.[31]

By the beginning of the new year the country had resumed its usual course of political warfare. Civil rights legislation met stiff opposition from Southern policymakers because it sought to extend the legal protection of citizens to vote and to provide equal and unrestricted access to public accommodations, federal jobs, and public education. It also proposed to increase the power of the Civil Rights Commission and the attorney general. Additionally, it attempted to establish federally-funded programs, an equal employment commission, and a voting census.[32]

The most serious fighting was in the United States Senate. The Senate debated the new bill for an unprecedented eighty-three days. Maintaining consistency with Southern attitudes toward civil rights, Southern senators argued forcefully against the passage of the bill. Senator Richard Russell of Georgia, reflecting the sentiment of most Southern policymakers, argued that the bill was "politically motivated." To Russell, the late president had "succumbed to the tremendous pressure brought to bear by all the groups of the extreme left wing and minority groups and asked for the bill bearing the name of Civil Rights."[33]

Although most Southern senators were anti-civil rights, it was difficult for them to dismiss the fact that the new president was a Southerner and a proponent of the measure. His influence was extremely significant and should not be underestimated. To Yarborough, however,

> Lyndon Johnson had a vast ambition ... he wanted to be known as the greatest president in U.S. History ... so he picked up the Civil Rights Bill of 1964 and claimed credit for it. Johnson knew that there was a great dislike for him because he was taking Kennedy's place ... Johnson saw his opportunity to be a great president and he took leadership of everything Kennedy was planning... Johnson became the great claimer ... he took credit for what someone else had started... .[34]

The bad blood between the Johnson and Yarborough camps was intense. So unfriendly was the relationship between the two that any politician from the Yarborough camp was almost certainly labeled an "anti-Johnson-Democrat." Johnson took the rivalry between them personally: "He's not on my side... He'll undercut me every time he gets a chance."[36] The animosity worsened, prompting the president on occasion to travel throughout Texas in search of a formidable opponent to run against Yarborough, only to discover that his strength was legitimate.[37]

Yarborough surely recognized the tension. In Yarborough's view, Johnson constantly claimed too much credit for passing various legislation.

"He couldn't pass a ... thing," Yarborough charges. "Only Congress in cooperation with the president can pass laws." Yarborough claims the passage of various legislation including the Civil Rights Act of 1964 should not be attributed solely to Johnson, since they "were laws that Congress and the Kennedys had been fighting for for years."[38]

To accelerate the passage of the new bill, Johnson exercised his political power to secure as many votes in the Senate as he could. Unlike many senators, who openly voiced their position, Yarborough remained silent and noncommittal. Concerned that Johnson might boast of having persuaded him, Yarborough refused to reveal his position. Since he had voted consistently for civil rights, Yarborough's actions did not leave much doubt in the minds of many policymakers in regard to how he would vote on the new measure:

> Nobody knew how I was going to vote and I hadn't told anybody how I was going to vote ... Johnson constantly asked me how I was going to vote and I wouldn't tell him because he would claim he persuaded me to vote that way ... I wasn't about to let him take credit.[39]

By alienating himself from the president, Yarborough failed to take advantage of propitious opportunity to unite forces with Johnson and accelerate the passage of the civil rights bill. His oversight can be attributed to a large extent to his concern about Johnson's political strength and dominating personality:

> Johnson had a vast political ability... A lot of politicians, if you oppose them like I had, would kick you in the teeth and see to it that you never got anything... Johnson wasn't that way; he carried constantly a bowl of sugar in one hand and a bottle of vinegar in the other... He would pour that vinegar on you and then hand out that bowl of sugar... He was trying to win you over constantly. He was the smartest politician I have ever known.[40]

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 garnered substantial support in the House of Representatives. The predominantly Democratic House passed the bill by the wide margin of 290 to 130. In contrast, passage in the senate faced tough opposition.[41] The bill faced an array of political attacks.[42] Most of the recalcitration, as expected, was from Southern senators. Three groups under the leadership of Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana, John Stennis of Mississippi, and Lister Hill of Alabama sought to prolong the debate of the bill by attacking various sections of it.[43]

According to Yarborough, several Southern senators led the charge to either kill or dismantle the bill, but to him:

> Dick Russell of Georgia was the main brain ... he was the best informed man in the Senate on the bill. He was a very brilliant leader and a brilliant intellectual strategist.[44]

Russell certainly exhausted every possible opportunity to voice the position of Southern senators toward the bill. Although he asserted his support for

equality. his objection to the new civil rights measure was that it compelled citizens to interact with one another.[45] Other senators from the deep South followed Russell's lead and for similar reasons, opposed the civil rights bill. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina also was a powerful voice of dissent. The interference of the federal government in "social relationships" was one of Thurmond's greatest concerns:

> Even many who favor integration indicate in correspondence to me that they oppose this legislation because it would give unprecedented power to Washington bureaucrats to try to force changes in human attitudes on the selection of associates, both in private as well as in public life.[46]

Despite the stiff opposition from his colleagues, Yarborough was convinced that the Senate would pass the bill. Addressing the Texas Council of Voters, a black political organization, in 1964, Yarborough asserted his confidence that the bill would pass:

> I believe in performance. I believe we're going to have a civil rights bill. I believe it's going to pass somehow, sometime this year.[47]

Yarborough was correct in his prediction. In June 1964, the United States Senate passed the measure. Yarborough argues that the momentum of the civil rights movement, the death of President Kennedy, the ambition and political savvy of Lyndon Johnson, and the perseverance of liberal Senators, combined to move the bill through congress. As expected, most of the Senators from the Old Confederacy, voted against the bill:

> Most people believed that because you're from the South you had to vote against civil rights. I'm the grandson of two confederate soldiers and I didn't have to vote against it... Times had changed... I wasn't betraying the South... I was living my own life.[48]

OLD CONFEDERACY SENATORS CIVIL RIGHTS VOTE IN 1964

Alabama	Hill (No)	Sparkman (No)
Arkansas	Fulbright (No)	McClellan (No)
Florida	Holland (No)	Smathers (No)
Georgia	Russell (No)	Talmadge (No)
Louisiana	Ellender (No)	Long (No)
Mississippi	Eastland (No)	Stennis (No)
North Carolina	Ervin (No)	Jordon (No)
South Carolina	Johnston (No)	Thurmond (No)
Tennessee	Gore (Yes)	Walters (No)
*Texas	Tower (No)	Yarborough (Yes)
Virginia	Byrd (No)	Robertson (No)

Reaction toward the new law varied. Many religious groups held prayer meetings near the Capitol and some African American leaders welcomed the long-awaited action. James Farmer, director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), Roy Wilkins, executive Secretary of the NAACP, and Martin Luther King, Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership

Conference (SCLC), praised the bill. But black nationalist leader Malcolm X condemned it.[49]

Some policymakers argue that civil rights legislation harmed the country more than it helped it; Yarborough, however, contends that the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was "beneficial for America":

> I believe it was carrying out the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. I believe what it was doing was implementing the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights... It might not have been popular but I think it was beneficial as a whole.[50]

Yarborough believes strongly that the problem with contemporary civil rights issues is not the legislation itself, but rather the implementation of it, particularly in the area of public education. He believes that forced integration "destroys families and weakens the public school system." He contends that "many parents intentionally place their children in private schools and withhold their money from the public school systems" by moving to the suburbs. The flight of whites away from the urban areas results in the exodus of tax dollars and the ultimate decline of public schools in the cities.[51]

Notwithstanding the various analyses and interpretations of the civil rights era, it is clear that Senator Ralph Yarborough's stand on civil rights was a noticeable departure from traditional Southern politics. His unique stand on these issues and his account of the forces shaping the legislation is useful to students of history. Yarborough's assessment of the legislative history during these critical years, although it may be at variance with that of others, certainly provides historians with fruitful data that can assist in reconstructing the emergence and development of civil rights in the United States.

NOTES

[1]*Congressional Quarterly Almanac,* Vol. XX, 1964, pp. 338-376.

[2]*U.S. Congressional Record,* March 12, 1956, pp. 4459-4460.

[3]*Interview* with Ralph W. Yarborough, by E.M.B. Obadele-Starks, November 2, 1991. Hereinafter referred to as Yarborough Interview.

[4]Yarborough Interview.

[5]William G. Phillips, *Yarborough of Texas,* (Washington D.C., 1969), p. 21. Hereinafter referred to as Phillips, *Yarborough.*

[6]Phillips, *Yarborough.*

[7]Phillips, *Yarborough.*

[8]Phillips, *Yarborough.*

[9]Phillips, *Yarborough.*

[10]Phillips, *Yarborough.*

[11]Dallas Morning News, July 18, 1954.

[12]Dallas Morning News, July 18, 1954.

[13]*Texas Observer,* January 22, 1957.

[14]*Texas Observer,* January 22, 1957.

[15]*Congressional Quarterly Almanac,* Vol, XIII, 1957.

[16]*Congressional Quarterly Almanac,* Vol. XIII, 1957.

[17]Yarborough Interview.

[18]For more on Lyndon B. Johnson and civil rights see Robert A. Caro, *The Years of Lyndon Johnson: Means of Ascent* (New York, 1990); Booth Mooney, *LBJ: An Irreverent Chronicle* (New York, 1976) hereinafter referred to as *LBJ: An Irreverent Chronicle;* Roland Evans and Robert Novak, *Lyndon Johnson: The Exercise of Power* (New York, 1966) hereinafter referred to as Evans and Novak, *LBJ;* Lyndon Baines Johnson, *The Vantage Point: Perspectives of the Presidency,* 1963-1969 (New York, 1971); Doris Kearns, *Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream* (New York, 1976); and Merle Miller, *Lyndon: An Oral Biography* (New York, 1980); and Robert Dallek: *Lone Star Rising: Lyndon Johnson and His Times* (Oxford, 1991).

[19]*U.S. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report,* Vol. XV, 1959, p. 292.

[20]*U.S. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report,* Vol. XVI, 1960, p. 189.

[21]*U.S. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report,* Vol. XVI, 1960, p. 189.

[22]*U.S. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report,* Vol. XVI, 1960, p. 185-207.

[23]*Texas Observer,* February 19, 1960, p. 5.

[24]Mooney, *LBJ: An Irreverent Chronicle,* p. 100.

[25]Evans and Novak, *LBJ,* p. 376.

[26]*U.S. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report,* Vol. XX, 1964, p. 354-357.

[27]Yarborough Interview.

[28]Robert and Barbara Whalen, *The Longest Debate: A Legislative History of the 1964 Civil Rights Act* (Washington, 1985).

[29]Robert D. Loery, *To End All Segregation: The Politics of the Passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964* (New York: University Press, 1990) p. 76.

[30]For more on John F. Kennedy and civil rights see Carl Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction* (New York, 1977); David Burner and Thomas R. West, *The Torch is Passed: The Kennedy Brothers and American Liberalism* (New York, 1984); also Allen J. Matusow, *The Unraveling of America: A History of Liberalism in the 1960's* (New York, 1984); Bruce Miroff, *Pragmatic Illusions: The Presidential Politics of John F. Kennedy* (New York, 1976); and Taylor Branch *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years 1954-1963* (New York, 1988).

[31]*U.S. Congressional Record,* 88th Cong. 2nd Session, 1964, p. 136.

[32]Richard Bardolph, ed: *The Civil Rights Record: Black Americans and the Law, 1849-1970* (New York, 1970), p. 3.

[33]Peter Kane, *The Senate Debate on the 1964 Civil Rights Act* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation at Purdue University, 1967), p. 106.

[34]Yarborough Interview.

[35]Mooney, *LBJ: An Irreverent Chronicle,* p. 108.

[36]Mooney, *LBJ: An Irreverent Chronicle,* p. 108.

[37]Mooney, *LBJ: An Irreverent Chronicle,* p. 151-152.

[38]Yarborough Interview.

[39]Yarborough Interview.

[40]Yarborough Interview.

[41]Kane, *The Senate Debate on the 1964 Civil Rights Act,* p. 57.

[42]Loevy, *To End All Segregation,* p. 1.

[43]U.S. Congressional Quarterly Report, Vol. XX, March, 1964, p. 491.

[44]Yarborough Interview.

[45]Loevy, *To End All Segregation,* p. 164.

[46]Loevy, *To End All Segregation,* p. 165.

[47]Yarborough Interview.

[48]Yarborough Interview.

[49]*Congressional Quarterly Almanac,* Vol. XX, June, 1964, pp. 372-373.

[50]Yarborough Interview.

[51]Yarborough Interview.

GROWING UP BLACK IN EAST TEXAS: SOME TWENTIETH-CENTURY EXPERIENCES

by William H. Wilson

The experiences of growing up black in East Texas could be as varied as those of Charles E. Smith and Cleophus Gee. Smith's family moved from Waskom, Harrison County, to Dallas when he was a small child to escape possible violence at the hands of whites who had beaten his grandfather. Gee matured in comfortable circumstances on the S.H. Bradley place near Tyler, a large farm owned by prosperous relatives. Yet the two men lived the larger experience of blacks in the second or third generation removed from slavery, those born, mostly, in the 1920s or early 1930s. Gee, too, left his rural setting for Dallas, although his migration occurred later and was voluntary. As Lawrence Levine has noted, post-emancipation blacks moved into direct participation in society, and despite segregation and discrimination, "new channels of mobility and communication were created," bringing "changes and new potentialities."[1]

Joining the rural-to-urban migration was not, however, the most significant common denominator among eight East Texas African Americans who, during the 1950s, built homes in the new all-black community of Hamilton Park in Dallas.[2] The shared foundation of their childhood, youth, and young adulthood consisted of the socialization in the accepted, traditional values: family, work, and education. Given their adult commitment to church activity, religion could be considered central to their lives, but few mentioned it while reminiscing about their earlier years. It is likely that as youngsters they viewed religious activity simply as an extension of family life. All, however, stressed the centrality of family, work, and education.[3]

Parents set the example in an atmosphere of loving family discipline. Charles Smith's mother stayed home to raise eight children while his father worked, but both parents "always stressed the necessity of work... ." His brother, Willie F. Smith, credited their mother and "some teachers" with inculcating the value of work. Willie B. Johnson remembered that her sharecropper father "was a darned good father. He used to plow... . He didn't like for us girls to do that, and there was only one boy in my family." Sadye Gee, born in Dallas, recalled that she could not go to the nearby Hall-Thomas commercial district because "My daddy was so strict I dared not leave the premises," except to go to the YWCA.[4]

Parents expected their children to follow their example. Charles Smith mowed yards and shined shoes in Dallas to buy clothes for school. If Willie Johnson's father disliked having his daughters plow the land he farmed near Kaufman in the 1930s, he had no such compunction about their picking cotton. He insisted that they work steadily and well. One day he saw Mrs. Johnson's sister "looking at birds just flying around, and he said, 'I didn't bring

William H. Wilson is a regents' professor of history at the University of North Texas.

you out here to count them damned birds! Go to work!' She said, 'My back is hurting!' " He said, 'You don't have no damned back! Get to work!' " Curtis J. Smith was expected to stay with his aged grandmother, providing company for her and help as needed in her home near Longview. Later, he earned money during his high school years by tractor disking farmland. Doris Robertson, who grew up in Dallas, worked there to help support her mother, leaving college before taking a degree because of the "need for finances."[5]

Sadye Gee's father, a skilled carpenter, found employment only intermittently during the Great Depression. The family survived by keeping chickens and a garden and by working hard. Whites delivered their dirty laundry by the bundle to the future Mrs. Gee's home on Mondays. The mother and three children washed the clothes in a big black kettle set up under fruit trees in the back yard. Then they starched and ironed, using old-fashioned flatirons heated over a small portable charcoal furnace. On Thursdays the customers picked up their laundry, "washed and ironed and folded, for $1.50 per week." Le Verne Field's father operated a truck farm near Tyler for several years, often selling the produce in town himself. She and her siblings dug, sorted, and loaded potatoes on truck or wagon for the trip to town.[6]

Vivid memories of schools, schooling, and teachers dominated these recollections of youth. Black East Texans who went to rural schools remembered inadequate materials, indifferent buildings, concerned teachers who labored to overcome those deficiencies, and parental and community support. "Mother was very protective of us girls," Willie Johnson recalled, but nevertheless her parents sent her trudging off to school each day from outside Kaufman to the "Egypt" section of town, where she "would be so *tired*" after her long walk. The school was dilapidated, "but you talk about somebody who thought she was important – when I got to the sixth grade, I went upstairs ... I'd pass those little kids and go up the stairs to that raggedy-looking place where I was going."[7]

Curtis Smith walked three miles to elementary school, but when he began high school, he rode the bus. "The bus would come by and pick us up about 7:00 in the morning, and I imagine we had somewhere around a thirty-five or forty-mile route to get to school," arriving just in time for the beginning of class at 8:45. The segregated high school was operated under the "separate but equal" doctrine, but with no pretense of equality. "I think we had some pretty good teachers, and they taught the best they could with what they had to teach with. Most of the books were passed down, of course." That is, when the white high school acquired new editions, the outdated, worn books were "passed down" to the black schools. Similarly, "all of our football equipment was used equipment. I played football for about three years in high school, and all of our equipment was handed-down equipment."[8]

Le Verne Fields began her education at the one-room Lindale elementary school in Smith County. Teachers solved the problem of mutual distraction by moving classes to separate sections of the big room. "You walked into individual corners. Sometimes the teacher would even take you,

depending on the weather, outside for classes. Then, the other kids would really be upset because everybody wanted to go outside and have their class... . If the weather was really nice, we always had several classes outside. We'd sit around on the ground, and the teacher would teach us there." When the weather confined the children indoors, "we didn't know if we were disturbing each other, because we never knew any other way." On cold days members of the community made certain that "there was always someone coming by" to put firewood in the wood-burning heater. "We never had no problem. There was always somebody that came by to bring some wood to make sure the kids was warm at all times."[9]

When the future Mrs. Fields moved to Tyler with her family she continued to attend elementary school, but not the black school nearest her, for it was overcrowded, and certainly not the white school. Her school received "handed-down" books, yet the students were expected to do their best despite the adverse circumstances. "We would cry sometimes because a page would be missing out of the book, and the pages would not be missing out of the teacher's book. The teacher would have the best book." Teachers and parents were suspicious of excuses for a lack of preparation. "Back then," students without completed lessons "would get a whipping from the teacher and from your parents, too,..." Woe to the pupil whom the teacher suspected of tearing out a page to avoid a lesson, because of the emphasis on student honesty.[10]

When the Bethlehem, Upshur County, school would not or could not pay for basketball uniforms, Streetman Watson remembered that new uniforms arrived anyway, because "somebody in the community raised money. The school never had that much money. Somebody in the community raised money to buy uniforms and whatever equipment we had." Members of the community sponsored box suppers and other fund-raising projects, which were so well supported that it "wasn't very hard" to have uniforms and equipment.[11]

East Texans who migrated to Dallas or were born there attended Lincoln or Booker T. Washington high schools, but the atmosphere of discipline and high expectations was no less than in the rural or small city settings. Students were expected to behave and to learn. Sadye Gee, who attended Booker T. Washington in the late 1930s, never forgot Jerry Towns, an instructor with a unique method of punishing infractions. Towns sent students after school to the detention room, where they would copy the United States Constitution, crossing "t's" with red ink, and dotting "i's" with blue. The number of copies depended upon the seriousness of the offense. "Then when you would have done that, he would tear it up before your very eyes, ... so we avoided going to the detention room." Mrs. Gee remembered her task, three copies of the Constitution for an unexcused tardy. She was careful not to be tardy again.[12]

Willie Smith, a graduate of Lincoln High School, valued the education

he received. "In the years that I went to school, ... and before all of the sophistication and all of the hundreds and hundreds of millions of dollars of sophisticated equipment, before all of the modernization came along, no one graduated from school who couldn't read. We didn't have kids graduating from high school and they couldn't read. I mean, we could work math problems in our heads. Now, kids graduating from high school, if they don't have a calculator, they can't even divide. I think it's a sad commentary."[13]

Discipline and hard work should not suggest that growing up was devoid of fun. Streetman Watson and Curtis Smith played in organized sports. Sadye Gee recalled coming from Dallas on the interurban rail car for Sunday and holiday family excursions. With her parents and siblings she left the car at the Vickery community, then far north of Dallas in what was known as the White Rock area. "Then we were met by our cousins who owned a T-Model Ford... . It was a thrill to ride in an automobile." Sometimes her family would visit relatives in the Upper White Rock section, where Hamilton Park was later established. "We would play and go up and down the cotton fields and just explore the rural area... . We lived in the city, and everything was so fascinating to us." Doris Robertson remembered her high school senior year hayride to the black-owned Anderson farm in the same general vicinity.[14]

The family influences on these East Texans were not transitory or confined to youth, but continued through life. Backgrounds of land ownership and home ownership were reflected in their desire for owned homes in Dallas, even though Dallas blacks in the late 1940s and early 1950s faced significant barriers to home ownership. The barriers included white violence against blacks moving into houses previously owned by whites, and generally successful white opposition to new black subdivisions in outlying areas. When a coalition of black and white leaders was able to establish, in 1953, a suburban-style black subdivision in what was, at the time, far North Dallas, the East Texans gravitated to the new Hamilton Park. Asked if she and her husband could have rented instead of buying in Hamilton Park, Sadye Gee replied: "No way! Daddy wouldn't have that."[15]

Curtis Smith was dubious about pouring his savings into a house that he might not be able to pay for, but family influences inclined him toward home ownership. His father instilled the idea of thrift. When Smith was young, he was provided with some necessities, but everyday clothing and extras were to come from his earnings if he worked, and he was expected to work. Smith began saving early. His father's requirements "taught me to be dependent on myself, ..." The older man later squelched the idea that homeowning would compromise financial independence. While Smith and his family were living in an apartment in Dallas, his father came to visit. Smith recalled that he "talked to me and said, 'Every time you pay rent on this place, you don't own any more of it than you did before you paid the rent. If you made a payment on a home, that means you're closer to owning it.' I said, 'Dad, I'm not making enough money.' He said, 'Well, you're making enough money to pay

your rent and live here, and you could live in your own place.' "[16]

Their parental commitment to education was so powerful that all but one of the eight East Texans considered here did at least some post-secondary work. All of them formed stable nuclear families, and expected their children, in turn, to obtain good educations. Their children graduated from high school and most pursued college or university studies. The children were also expected to make their way in the world, as their parents and grandparents had done.[17]

The intergenerational commitment of black East Texans to family, work, and education refute white racists' assumptions of black indolence or shiftlessness. Such black identification with traditional American values shames those white Texans who refused to recognize the full humanity and citizenship of blacks. Whites' arbitrary distinctions of segregation and discrimination burned into the consciousness of Charles Smith when as a child of eight he left Waskom by train to join his family in Dallas. More than fifty years later he recalled the Jim Crow section "up front," near the locomotive. "When we got off the train and got on the streetcars to go home, you got in the back. There were signs designated for 'colored' and 'white.' Right then I realized that there is a difference."[18]

At the same time the barriers of segregation were not so impermeable as to prevent friendly interracial cooperation. A white friend of Willie Johnson and her husband intervened with the Hamilton Park sales office to secure an application blank for the couple after an initial refusal. "They wouldn't let us fill it out because they said my husband was too old at that time, and he wouldn't have been able to finish paying for [a house]." Doris and Lincoln Robertson bought a home in Hamilton Park because Mr. Robertson's white employer, "furious" over the rejection of their application for a Veterans Administration loan, appealed to the local VA office to reconsider. Even before the relatively racially enlightened era of the 1950s, a sympathetic white loaned Sadye Gee's father the money to retire the mortgage on his house and stave off foreclosure.[19]

The experiences of these twentieth-century black East Texans suggest that American values know no racial boundaries; that a commitment to family, work, and education transcends racism, discrimination, and segregation. Their experiences also suggest that the values are durable, surviving geographical migration and generational change. The tall sycamore trees in Sadye and Clephus Gee's front yard in Hamilton Park symbolize that durability. When the Gees moved to Hamilton Park they bought with them "switches" from the Gee home place in Smith County. The sycamores grew from those cuttings.[20]

NOTES

[1]For Smith, see Charles E. Smith, interview by William H. Wilson, Aug. 24, Oct. 24, 1989, interview OH 793, Oral History Collection, University of North Texas, pp. 1-4, hereinafter cited as Charles Smith Interview.

[2]About thirty closed or unprocessed interviews in the Oral History Collection support the conclusions presented here, which are based on the available interviews. For aspects of Hamilton Park, see William H. Wilson, "Private Planning for Black Housing in Dallas, Texas, 1945-1955," in Laurence C. Gerckens, comp. and ed., *Proceedings of the Second National Conference on American Planning History* (Columbus, 1988), pp. 67-84; and "Desegregation of the Hamilton Park School, 1955-1975," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* p. 95 (July, 1991), pp. 43-63.

[3]The rural-to-urban migration during the lifetimes of the interviewees may be traced in the following Bureau of the Census publications: *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930:,* Vol. 1 (Washington, D.C., 1932), p. 1081; *Census of Population, 1950,* Vol. 2, pt. 43 (Washington, D.C., 1952) pp. 43-11, 43-12, 43-14, and 43-31; and *Census of Population, 1960,* Vol. 1, pt. 45 (Washington, D.C., 1963), pp. 45-27, 45-37, 45-38, 45-40, 45-41, 45-462, 45-469, 45-477, 45-480, 45-481, 45-490, 45-492. See also Gilbert C. Fite, *Cotton Fields No More: Southern Agriculture, 1965-1980,* (Lexington, 1984), pp. 113, 156, 161, 169, 170-171. For a socio-historical survey of black religion, see C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence H. Mamiya, *The Black Church in the African American Experience* (Durham, 1990).

[4]Charles Smith interview, p. 6. Willie F. Smith, interview by William H. Wilson, May 31, June 14, 1990, OH 829, Oral History Collection, University of North Texas, p. 3, hereinafter cited as Willie Smith interview. Willie B. Johnson, interview by William H. Wilson, Feb. 9, 22, 1990, OH 819, pp. 129-129, Oral History Collection, University of North Texas, hereinafter cited as Johnson interview. Gee interview, p. 89. Curtis J. Smith, interview by William H. Wilson, Feb. 2, 23, March 30, 1990, OH 826, pp. 7-8, Oral History Collection, University of North Texas, hereinafter cited as Curtis Smith interview.

[5]Charles Smith interview, p. 6. Johnson interview, p. 38. Doris Robertson and Lincoln Robertson, interview by William H. Wilson, Jan. 7, 21, 1990, OH 817, Oral History Collection, University of North Texas, p. 8, hereinafter cited as Robertson interview.

[6]Gee interview, pp. 4-6; quotation, p. 4. Le Verne Fields, interview by William H. Wilson, July 9, 16, 1990, OH 835, Oral History Collection, University of North Texas, pp. 2-4, hereinafter cited as Fields interview.

[7]Johnson interview, pp. 2, 3.

[8]Curtis Smith interview, pp. 9-10.

[9]Fields interview, pp. 4, 5-6.

[10]Fields interview, p. 8.

[11]Ruby Watson and Streetman Watson, interview by William H. Wilson, March 14, 16, 1990, OH 825, Oral History Collection, University of North Texas, pp. 4 (quotation), 5.

[12]Gee interview, pp. 110 (quotation), 111.

[13]Willie Smith interview, p. 50.

[14]Gee interview, p. 33. Robertson interview, p. 13.

[15]Gee interview, p. 21. For a discussion of black property ownership in the twentieth century, see Loren Schweninger, *Black Property Owners in the South, 1790-1915* (Urbana, 1990), especially pp. 207-216, 226-232.

[16]Curtis Smith interview, p. 20 ("taught me" quotation), pp. 38-39 ("talked to me" quotation).

[17]Citations to individual interviews in support of the statements would be tedious and cumbersome. The conclusions emerge from a complete reading of each of them.

[18]For white depreciation of blacks, see Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness,* pp. 268-269; James A. Burran, "Violence in an 'Arsenal of Democracy': The Beaumont Race Riot, 1943," *East Texas Historical Journal* 14 (Spring 1976), pp. 39-51; and Bruce A. Glasrud, "Child or Beast?: White Texas' View of Blacks, 1900-1910," *East Texas Historical Journal* 15 (1977), pp. 38-44. Charles Smith interview, p. 5.

[19]Johnson interview, p. 69; Robertson interview, p. 21; and Gee interview, pp. 39-40.

[20]Gee interview, p. 27.

THE WORLD WAR I DIARY OF WILLIAM S. LESLIE, PVT. 169TH AERO SQUADRON, AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE

by Jane Leslie Newberry

The majority of the young men who served in the American Expeditionary Forces during World War I had been protected by a way of life which was to exist no more following that conflict. These young men came from areas where they had been born, raised, and schooled in agricultural communities and knew little of the rest of the world, even little of the remainder of the United States. It was from such an area that a young man, listed as 19.7 years of age on his service record, finally managed to join the United States Army after fattening himself with a steady diet of bananas. William Shelton Leslie was the son of an itinerate Baptist minister, Charles Edward Leslie, and his first wife, Lugumia Elephare Cross. The Leslie family had emigrated to Texas in the 1880s from Virginia and settled near Hermleigh. Leslie's youth had centered around the difficult life as the son of a poorly paid, circuit-riding minister.

Leslie enlisted at Dallas, Texas, on December 4, 1917. His service record indicated that his occupation was a student, that he had blue eyes, brown hair, fair complexion, and was 5 feet 11 1/2 inches tall. Leslie was assigned to the 169th Aero Squadron of the United States Expeditionary Forces and was the youngest member of the squadron of 160 men.

The 169th Aero Squadron was organized at Love Field, Dallas, Texas, in December 1917. Love Field was described at that time as a cotton field and mud puddle. The 169th was originally an all Texas outfit, but received replacements in combat from all states of the Union, Canada, and Mexico. Just before the Squadron of 160 men was scheduled to leave for Europe, one man came down with the measles, resulting in the quarantine of the entire group. The troop ship that the group should have taken was sunk by a submarine and 100 men were lost. In January 1918, the Squadron finally left Love Field and arrived at Liverpool, England, on March 4, 1918, less than twelve weeks after it was organized. The Squadron arrived in England before the American First Army was organized, and was attached to the British Royal Air Force where it served for eight months training pilots and ferrying planes across the British Channel to France.[1]

Crossing over to France in August 1918, the 169th served with the French Aviation Militaire for two months. General John J. Pershing's First Army had been organized by this time and the squadron became a part of the aviation section of The First Army, receiving citations for meritorious service during the

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Jane Leslie Newberry, daughter of William S. Leslie, lives in Shreveport, Louisiana.

battles of the Meuse River, the Saint Mihiel, the Argonne Forest, and the Defensive Sector. The squadron later served for a short time with the Canadian Flying Corps in Canada, and at various air fields in New York and Texas.[2]

But what was the reaction of this young man to a world beyond his scope of imagination? Although it was against regulations, he kept a small diary. The small green diary, titled, THE SOLDIERS OWN DIARY, has on the inside: "Pvt. Wm. S. Leslie, home address, Hermleigh, Scurry Ct. Texas; Signal Corp, Aero Squadron 169, Platoon 1," and is dated February 1, 1918. The book was published in England, and has numerous definitions and hints for soldiers. There are many addresses, mostly of girls, and several references to money loaned and sometimes paid back.

The diary is scanty, but tells the story of some of Leslie's experiences. These experiences vary from fear of the unknown; from being in a foreign country and his reaction to the English people and the miserable weather conditions both in England and France; those of a normal 19-year-old and his girl friends; a bout with the mumps; several encounters with non-coms; and even running over someone with a car. There are many days with no entries. When the squadron reached the battle zones in France, which included Meuse River, Saint Mihiel, the Argonne Forest, and the Defensive area, no entries exist at all; Leslie does not share the horrors of warfare. Although it is not mentioned in the dairy, Leslie served as an observer in the fragile wood-framed planes. Thus, the diary paints a picture of the life of a private in the American Expeditionary Force, a far cry from the famous journals of the well-known officers. Some of the entries are difficult to read and have been transcribed as closely as possible. The diary begins Saturday, January 26, 1918 as the 169th Aero Squadron leaves Love Field.

January 26, 1918 – Left Love Field at 9:30 - didn't get to say goodbye to anyone.

February 17, 1918 – Left Hazelhurst at 3:30 - embarked on ferry at Hoboken on ship at 10:30 - sailed away at 4:20 - quartered in hold of ship. Very much so.

February 18, 1918 – Arrived at Bedford Bay, Halifax at 12:00 am. Wait for convoy - on guard - nurses and officers prominade deck.

February 19, 1918 – Still on guard - would talk to nurse, but she didn't want me to get shot for violating G.O. #7 - discouraged and quit. Dixie would not have acted so cruelly.

February 20, 1918 – Daily routine - still in bay.

February 21, 1918 – Left Bedford Bay 3:00 pm. Accompanied by 3

transports, 3 freighters, also U.S. Cruiser, "San Diego." "Old Glory" sure looks good.

February 22, 1918 – Washington's birthday - went on guard at 4:00 pm but I cannot carry a "Life Destroyer."

February 23, 1918 – On guard. Our string band played and "Diane" and I danced. Had an immensly good time considering.

February 24, 1918 – Sea very rough - awfully sick.

February 25, 1918 – Sea little smoother. Ate dinner. Stayed on deck quite awhile.

February 26, 1918 – Nothing unusual on deck all day. Joined by a tramp cruiser. Heard a lecture on Verdun, 18:30.

February 27, 1918 – Day dawns clear and beautiful and warm. On deck. We are now in home of submarines. On guard first shift 8:00 o'clock.

February 28, 1918 – On guard til 4:00 o'clock - signed payroll and stood muster. ------ ------ ------ ------

March 1, 1918 – Nothing new. Very strict on account of submarine menace. A lecture on Japan and poems by Capt. somebody.

March 2, 1918 – Joined by eight sub chasers. They sure look good. Hope we will be "there" soon. Some fellows are scared so badly they stay up all night.

March 3, 1918 – Nothing unusual.

March 4, 1918 – Disembarked at Liverpool 10:30. Entrained arrived Romsey 8:00. In camp 9:00. Merry England Camp Watley.

March 5, 1918 – Nothing particular. Weather very wet and drizzling rain - getting acquainted.

March 6, 1918 – To hospital in AM - hike in afternoon.

March 7, 1918 – Hike in AM to Romley. Saw a church built in 1347.

March 8, 1918 – Hike in AM beyond Romley - drill in afternoon. Spent my last shilling.

March 9, 1918 – Left Camp Watley 2:00 - arrived Amesbury in same eve. Hikes to Salisbury Plains - almost dead.

March 10, 1918 – Getting acquainted.

March 11, 1918 – Drilling some - my feet ache awfully. Are fairly settled.

March 12, 1918 – D.P. Dining room police. Had quite a walk with G in evening. Missed supper.

March 13, 1918 – Drilling and formal retreat. Severely disappointed. Will probably meet tomorrow.

March 14, 1918 – Met her but for a while. She is such a dear good lady.

March 15, 1918 – Nothing new except can't leave camp except with NCO. Went to concert last night.

March 16, 1918 – Review and inspection by Capt. McLeroy. A walk with G. A promise broken by Flo. I don't know why.

March 17, 1918 – To Stonehenge in eve.

March 18, 1918 – Detail. From 8:00 to 5:00 with G. Attended concert by _____.

March 19, 1918 – Left Lark Hill 12:30 pm - arrived 3:52 at Andover Junction. Quartered in tents. Very damp. Told Flo goodbye.

March 20, 1918 – Getting acquainted with camp. Fired machine gun 10 rounds.

March 21, 1918 – Put up new tents and moved into them. Went to town.

March 22, 1918 – Put up tents all day. Extremely fatiqued. Went to town to movies. _____ of a time.

March 24, 1918 – K. P. OT found a home [horse?]

March 25, 1918 – Dug ditches. Put up tents. A walk. (Met L.B., also Jersey.) [crossed out and added to the next day].

March 26, 1918 – Carried wood and loitered. Met L.B., also Jersey.

March 27, 1918 – Did nothing in particular. Some nasty English weather.

March 28, 1918 – Very cold and raining. Cleared up slightly in evening. Met Lillian.

March, 29, 1918 – Worked on hanger - nothing new.

March 30, 1918 – Went to work supposedly. Am in transportation department. Unassigned. I am learning to distrust everybody.

March 31, 1918 – On duty

April 1, 1918 – Have mumps. In isolation hospital. Not sick yet.

April 2, 1918 – Weather bad. In all day.

April 3, 1918 – Still in A. H. Sister visited today. Talked to NZ and Pioneers. Passed cake. Never even spoke to Yank.

April 4, 1918 – Same thing. Sold my cane also had _____. I've _____.

April 5, 1918 – Rather freakish today. Letter from L.

April 6, 1918 – Pd L4,19S,7D. Also letter from Josephine.

April 7, 1918 – Carried on

April 8, 1918 – Carried on. Nine letters from USA.

April 10, 1918 – in

April 11, 1918 – My birthday. 20 years old. The nurses were real sweet.

April 12, 1918 – Still in

April 13, 1918 – Removed to convelescent camp. No good.

April 14, 1918 – Dreary

April 15, 1918 – Still in. Snowed.

April 17, 1918 – ? with bloody English. Think I'll smack 'em in the nose.

April 18, 1918 – Bread and jam. Very exciting indeed. Soon, oh, so soon!

April 20, 1918 – Tiff and Leg.

April 21, 1918 – Leave tomorrow. rah.rah.

April 22, 1918 – Done gone. Left hospital in afternoon.

April 23, 1918 – Loitered all day. Saw Robbie

April 24, 1918 – Work in AM

April 26, 1918 – Saw Lillian 10 minutes in PM.

April 27, 1918 – Loitered in AM. To Bascomb Downs in PM.

April 29, 1918 – In London on pass at Union Jack.

April 30, 1918 – Westminster Abbey and House of Parliament to _____. Talked to sure 'nough American girl. Back at 11:30.

IN MAY OF 1918, THE FIRST AMERICAN-BUILT WAR PLANE REACHED FRANCE. POWERED BY THE 400 HP LIBERTY ENGINE, THE D. H. 4 CLIMBED 4000' IN FOUR MINUTES SIX SECONDS AND DID 126 MPH.

May 1, 1918 – Saw Bobbie in eve. A light dawns.

May 2, 1918 – Rain, very wet

May 3, 1918 – Working in GRS

May 4, 1918 – Saw Rusbee[?] a walk some[same] time. Lillian in Dilente[?]

May 5, 1918 – Rainy. Work. To church.

May 6, 1918 – Sgt's Mess

May 7, 1918 – Sgt's Mess

May 8, 1918 – Slight disturbance. Disagreed with cpl. and got — -ride in plane - fine.

May 9, 1918 – Indefinite O.B. and K.P. Off duty report every 30 minutes to S. M.

May 10, 1918 – Still on and in

May 11, 1918 – Still on and in

May 12, 1918 – and yet

May 13, 1918 – so

May 14, 1918 – Yet

May 18, 1918 – off KP and CB

May 19, 1918 – Met Nellie

May 20, 1918 – Half holiday in eve with Nellie. A sure 'nough girl

May 21, 1918 – Nise [sic]

May 22, 1918 – Met Nell. Same as ever. Rather tame.

[MAY 22, 23, 24, 225 SEEM TO BE WRITTEN IN DIFFERENT HANDWRITING, BUT STILL SEEM TO BE HIS COMMENTS]

May 23, 1918 – Met Flora [crossed out] Nell Awfully sweet in bottle green

May 24, 1918 – Met Margaret [crossed out] Nell Pictures

May 25, 1918 – Met Nell. Disappointed. Seeing her no more.

May 27, 1918 – Met Daisy. Awfully nice.

May 28, 1918 – Holiday - failed to get a pass

May 30, 1918 – Decoration day in Winchester Cathedral, castle and museum

May 31, 1918 – Disgusted. No more English girls

June 1, 1918 – Must go back to get a Yankee girl. Awful fall on cycle

June 2, 1918 – Met Nell

June 3, 1918 – Nothing on consequence

June 4, 1918 – Holiday. Failed to get pass. Went to Brim[?]. B in eve. Lovely time. Nell in eve.

June 9, 1918 – Met Nell

June 16, 1918 – to Larkhill

June 29, 1918 – On ambulance until 2 A. M. Played tennis with Mrs. Wright. Kathleen

June 30, 1918 – Up in H. P. first wreck

July 1, 1918 – On ambulance in morning. Nell in evening

July 3, 1918 – To London in evening. Great crowds of U.S. troops. Many U.S. flags flying

July 4, 1918 – Temple and Justice in A. M. Ballgame in eve. Saw their majesties

July 7, 1918 – To Stonehenge and Brimstone Bottom

July 8, 1918 – Rain

July 9, 1918 – BB Rained some awful. Wet as a hen. Went berry picking

July 10-12, 1918 – RAIN

July 13, 1918 – Had a bread and cheese tea at Appleshead - Rain

July 14-19, 1918 – RAIN

July 20, 1918 – Left Andore at 5:03 for London. Far trip up Thames. Sunday in London at 6:36 oc Rain

July 21, 1918 – Thames - A love day Rain

July 22, 1918 – Back from London. CB again. Oh my. Rain

July 23-24, 1918 – Rain

July 25, 1918 – Released from confinement. rain

July 26, 1918 – Whew! A great big box of candy from Sis and Auntie. Gee, it is lovely. Rain

July 27, 1918 – Ran over a man with ford. Don't know how seriously injured.

July 28, 1918 – To Tideworth [?]

July 30, 1918 – Court of Inquiry. To Tideworth and Conholt Park

July 31, 1918 - August 3, 1918 – Rain

August 15, 1918 – Told JR goodbye

August 16, 1918 – Preparing to go to the front

August 17, 1918 – on truck detail in morning - left at 2 o'clock arrived 5:40 - Flowerdown [?]

August 26, 1918 – arrived St. Mexiant - Napolean's conclaux barracks [?]

August 27, 1918 – fatigue - Beaucoup

August 30, 1918 – Order to pack up and leave. Bags all hauled down - on guard.

August 31, 1918 – All a workout - Barrack bags returned to barrack. Still eating slum. No pass yet

September 1, 1918 – KP

September 2, 1918 – Left St. Maxient at 3p

September 3, 1918 – still on train

September 5, 1918 – arrived Vinets

September 6, 1918 – digging trenches

September 7, 1918 – more trenches

September 8, 1918 – more construction

September 9, 1918 – KP

September 10-20, 1918 – [one word on each day] All this time I was still doing it as usual

September 21, 1918 – Bunk fatique today – strange to say the top failed to find work for me today. He sure loves me!

September 22, 1918 – Rain and __ __

September 30, 1918 – KP

October 4, 1918 – Printing ensignias on A.P.

October 13, 1918 – Rumors of peace

October 14, 1918 – Hurrah! Fritz says Koward. Be home someday

November 11, 1918 – Armistice signed. Great celebration in France

November 14, 1918 – Hear we are to leave "toot sweet"

November 16, 1918 – Still waiting return voyage

November 18, 1918 – Guess won't go too soon

November 19, 1918 – Gee! This mud is awful - It rains always - Tout le temp

December 2, 1918 – Hope vanishes - still rain

December 3, 1918 – To console myself I will go to Martha tonite

December 5, 1918 – This is final - nothing to do but keep from freezing

December 6, 1918 – Since Armistice in OM as

December 15, 1918 – unable to read

December 16, 1918 – ___ ___, exec. permission a la Mademoiselle Martha Ruby

December 24, 1918 – With Martha at night to Catholic Communion, USO

December 25, 1918 – Left M. at 2 am, Reverie at 4:30 - dinner with her - Par Content

December 26, 1918 – Rain, Mud, Snow, Cold, N' everything

December 27, 1918 – I called on MR this evening

December 28, 1918 – Rain all day - muddier n' anything

December 29, 1918 – Thinking of Odene [Adene?]

December 31, 1918 – To MR at 7 P.M.

January 1, 1919 – In at 2 am - all dressed up and ___ to go.

January 2, 1918 – Home

At the end of the war, the 169th Aero Squadron returned to America on the U.S.S. Mallory.

William Shelton Leslie returned to the United States, attended The University of Texas, and was graduated from Baylor University. He received his LLB in 1925 from Baylor Law School. He practiced Law until retirement in 1971. In 1927, he married Emily Jane Allen and had one daughter, Emily Jane Leslie. He began his practice in Bay City, Texas, where he served as county attorney. Later he moved to San Angelo, Texas, and began a partnership with E.E. Murphy. After the death of his first wife in 1945, Leslie married Stella Cobb in 1947. Leslie was active in the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the Texas Defense Guard during World War II. He also served as county attorney and city judge in San Angelo. He was active in the

reunions of the 169th Aero Squadron. For many years, Leslie corresponded with his friend, Nell, whom he had met in England.

Leslie died on November 20, 1972, in Brady, Texas, and is buried in Fairmount Cemetery in San Angelo, Texas.

In an article in the *San Angelo Standard-Times*, October 22, 1964, Leslie reminisced about the "baling wire days" of World War I flying. "Understand," said Leslie, "when we got there the art of aerial fighting was still very crude. We had just gotten out of the rock throwing stage and shooting at the enemy with a pistol or rifle. While we were there they began mounting machine guns in the rear cockpit and later perfected one to fire from the front cockpit through the propellor blades. The methods of warfare were rapidly changing." He continued by saying that on the day before the armistice was signed, the airfield of the 169th came under attack, but no one was injured.[3]

NOTES

[1]Kendal, T.J., unpublished notes.

[2]Kendal, T.J., unpublished notes.

[3]*San Angelo Standard Times*, Oct. 22, 1964, Section B, page 1.

BOOK NOTES

Two grand and impressive volumes head our list of notable books received since last this column took note of such. The first is *Papers Concerning Robertson's Colony In Texas,* compiled and edited by Malcolm D. McLean (The University of Texas At Arlington Press, Box 190919, Arlington, TX 76019-0929). This volume is listed as XVIII, August 11, 1840 through March 4, 1842, and is the last in the series that has won more awards – nineteen in all – than there are volumes. There is a calendar of materials included for the convenience of users. McLean and his wife Margaret have moved to Georgetown, "just above the North San Gabriel River, in the former Robertson Colony area, the region which the Comanches called "TEHA LANNA, THE LAND OF BEAUTY." All present and future historians of Texas owe Dr. McLean a debt for his dedicated work on this project.

Equally impressive is *Hispanic Texas: A Historical Guide,* by Helen Simons and Cathryn A. Hoyt (University of Texas Press, Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819), with the Texas Historical Commission. The work is illustrated heavily, and contains essays by Felix D. Almaraz, Hoyt, Robert S. Weddle, Patricia A. Mercado-Allinger, Jack Jackson, Joe S. Graham, Curtis Tunnell and Enrique Madrid, James W. Steely, Helen Simons and Roni Morales, Ann Perry and Jesus F. de la Teja. Part II is a guide to seven regions: San Antonio and South Texas; Laredo and the Rio Grande Valley; El Paso and Trans-Pecos Texas; Austin and Central Texas; Houston and Southeast Texas; Dallas and North Texas; and Lubbock and the Plains. It'll go five pounds, easy, of words and pictures of Hispanic Texas.

A couple of smaller, monograph-sized publications are no less useful for their slimness. *Governors of Texas* (A.H. Belo Corp., Communications Center, Box 655237, Dallas, TX 75265), prepared by Mike Kingston of the Texas Almanac, is a review of the forty-two folk who have served our state as governor. From Henderson to Richards, the reader finds a biographical sketch, photo or likeness, and a boxed section titled "At A Glance" with vital statistics. Useful for a quick reference to the guys. It also contains data on elections and related matters. If the schools are functioning, Texas history teachers (and others) will find David C. Deboe and William C. Hardt, *Teachers' Guide to the Handbook of Texas* (Texas State Historical Association, Box 2/306 Sid Richardson Hall, University of Texas, Austin, Tx 78712) provides a brief history of the Handbook, a review of subject areas or themes therein, suggestions for ways the Handbook can be used to develop research and writing skills, and suggests a Texas Trivia "game" (answers in the Handbook, of course).

Battleship Texas, with text and contemporary photos by Hugh Power (Texas A&M Press, College Station, TX 77843) is a testimony to the endurance of the "Mighty T," although I don't think that nickname appears in the book. What does appear is Power's love for this fighting ship. Born in

the WWI era, the ship's finest hours came during WWII when it covered five landings and performed many other chores to win the war on both fronts. Then it came to rest in 1948 at San Jacinto and endured forty-years of semi-neglect before an appropriate restoration. Once again in good shape, *Texas* is a floating museum of how it was, back when battleships showed our nation's flag on the water.

I am worrying about how to present *Texas, My Texas* by James Ward Lee (University of North Texas Press, Box 13856, Denton, TX (76203-3856). In the first place, Lee confesses he entered the world in Alabama, not Texas, but is Texan by unilateral proclamation. If that works, I look like Robert Redford when next you see me. Anyway, Lee writes good essays, eleven of which are in this book if you don't count the dedication in which he lavishes praise and gets even with various friends. With pathos (masked in humor) he's the equal of Billy Porterfield: witness the essay on Honky Tonks. He's a social critic: witness essays on preachers, buryings, and heaven. He's a food authority: witness essays on eats, meat, and pie. He's a social commentator: witness essays on Dallas Cowboy cheerleaders and the Texas myth. Most of all, he's a movie buff: witness essays on sidekicks and The True History of Texas as we learn it from movies – one of the best of the bunch. I'd have said that even if Jim hadn't mentioned me in it. But I'm still trying to figure out his meaning in citing me as an "old standby" like Rupert Richardson, Ralph Steen, and Ted Fehrenbach. Pretty good company, so I have decided to accept "old standby" as euphony for "acceptable" chronicler of the past and tell you that Jim Ward Lee writes a good essay, name dropper that he is. And will do to go honky-tonkin' with. And to eat with. Or the movies. I don't know about going to church with. And that thirty-five years does a Texan make.

Two books from Eakin Press have a similar format: anecdotes of Texas history, some significant, some less so but interesting nonetheless. Jack McGuire, *Texas Amazing! But True* or *Texas: Amazing But True* – there is a slight difference in cover and title page – (Eakin Press, Drawer 90159, Austin, TX 78790-0159) reproduces articles the author prepared for *Southwest Airlines Magazine.* McGuire, who prides himself on being a journalist first and a historian second despite his long tenure as chief of the Texan Institute of Cultures, is at his best writing about the "amazing" – I would say "unique" – aspects of Texas: first broadcast of a football game, the first Thanksgiving, or dealing with the mystery of who wrote "Home On The Range." That will give you a range of the subjects herein. Bill and Majorie K. Walraven, *Magnificent Barbarians: Little Told Tales of the Texas Revolution* (also Eakin, remember) and illustrated by John C. Davis, Jr. is similar in construction but more limited in scope: the Walraven's concentrate on the revolutionary era in six chapters (The Pathfinders, Rumblings of Revolt, Bexar, Death in the Springtime, Incredible Victory, and Paladins) and two appendices. I especially liked the writing style, and the coverage of William B. Travis.

Blades in the Sky: Windmilling through the Eyes of B.H. "Tex" Burdick, by T. Lindsay Baker with preface by Elmer Kelton (Texas Tech University Press, Lubbock, TX 79409-1037) is the history of Burdick's work with erecting and maintaining these wonderments in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona to provide the quickening element of water to a parched land. T. Lindsay's text accompanies photos of Burdick's operations and both establish the case for this quixotic-appearing but essential technology for the development of the southwest. Windmills are an important part of the material culture of the decades past, and Baker continues his work in telling their history and that of the people who built and used them.

BOOK REVIEWS

Lone Star Preacher, by John W. Thomason, Jr., (Texas Christian University, Box 30776, Fort Worth, TX 76129) 1992. Illustrations. P. 304. $29.95.

"All Hail" T.C.U. Press for including *Lone Star Preacher* in its reprints of outstanding Texas fiction thereby introducing this generation to one of the greatest Texas novels ever written. First serialized in *The Saturday Evening Post* in 1938, it was published in book form by Scribners in 1941. It was John W. Thomason's last book.

Colonel Thomason, a native of Huntsville, enlisted in the Marine Corps in 1917 and remained a career officer in the Corps until his death in 1944. He wrote and illustrated ten books, a flood of short stories and articles printed in national magazines, and became one of the most successful writers in America. *Lone Star Preacher* generally is regarded as Thomason's masterpiece. J. Frank Dobie called it the best Texas book "that has yet been published." Leon Hale, long-time Houston columnist thought it the best book ever written by a native Texan. Thomason's masterful illustrations add greatly to the spirit of the story.

It is the moving account of a fictitious character, Reverend Praxiteles Swan, a Methodist minister who joined Hood's Texas Brigade under General Robert E. Lee in Virginia and was converted to a fighting Captain in the legendary Fifth Texas Regiment. In his Foreword, Thomason alleges that Swan is the "combination of two distinguished early Methodist saints in Texas, with overtones from several Godly and scholarly men of those days whose life span overlapped my own." One of the models for Swan was Elder John W. Stevens, author of *Reminiscences of the Civil War,* who Thomason knew at a boarding house while teaching in Penn City in 1914.

Max Lale, another Thomason admirer, has contributed an outstanding and comprehensive Afterword to the new edition. It needs to be added that Thomason wrote a little-known sequel chapter entitled "The Preacher Calls the Dance" which appeared in the May 3, 1941, issue of *The Saturday Evening Post.*

F. Lee Lawrence
Tyler, Texas

A Way of Work and a Way of Life: Coal Mining in Thurber, Texas, 1888-1926, by Marilyn D. Rhinehart (Texas A&M University Press, Drawer C, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 1992. Illustrations. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Black & White Photographs. P. 167. $39.50 Hardcover.

Today, Thurber is nearly a ghost town located along Interstate 20 in the mesquite-covered hills of north central Texas. During its heyday, however, Thurber was one of the Southwest's most important coal mining towns, and

was also known for brick-making plants that supplied paving and building bricks to the entire region. *A WAY OF WORK AND A WAY OF LIFE* describes how Thurber became – surprisingly for Texas – one of the most effectively unionized mining towns in the country. The author consulted a wide variety of source materials, including newspaper articles, union meeting minutes, letters, and corporate records of the Texas & Pacific Coal & Oil Company and its predecessors.

In mining towns such as Thurber, ethnicity was a major factor. A substantial part of the work force was foreign born – especially Italian and Polish – and the author describes their relationship to native-born miners and the community. Rhinehart also describes the changing relationship between labor and management in the context of individual labor leaders, rank-and-file miners, and the owners and managers of the company. This book documents the birth, maturity, and decline of one of Texas' most fascinating communities. Illustrations, including statistical charts and tables, supplement the author's narrative. *A WAY OF WORK AND A WAY OF LIFE* is recommended highly to those interested in mining, labor, and Texas/Southwestern history.

Richard V. Francaviglia
University of Texas at Arlington

The Southern Forest: A Chronicle, by Laurence C. Walker (University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819) 1991. Notes. Index. Illustrations. P. 336. $25.95 Cloth.

Laurence Walker's book *The Southern Forest* should be read by everyone who claims to be an environmentalist. The text provides a rich history of early plant and tree identification along with past challenges that confronted timber harvesting and the affects of early logging on the environment, water quality, wildlife, and society as a whole.

Not only does this text provide a colorful look at the past, it also provides an in-depth look at present forest management programs and the challenges facing our future resource. In this section of the text, Walker challenges the reader to look towards the future regarding land management, air, and water quality issues that will confront future generations.

True to Walker's reputation of being thorough in the teachings of his profession, this is truly a factual as well as an entertaining text with documented and personal anecdotes of our rich history. I encourage those interested in the history of our forest resource to read this text.

Ron Hufford
Texas Forestry Association

When I Was Just Your Age, by Robert Flynn and Susan Russell (University of North Texas Press, P.O. Box 13856, Denton, TX 76203) 1992. Black & White Photographs. P. 175. $14.95 Paper.

The subtitle "Remarkable Reflections On Growing Up In Another Era" is an apt description of the contents of this delightful and informative book. Novelist Robert Flynn and Susan Russell, co-founder of Learning About Learning Educational Foundation, along with four young people who assisted with interviews, have produced a book of memories that carries messages for young and old alike. With financial assistance from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Alice Kleberg Meyer Foundation, this book emerged from a curriculum development program called "Thinking Historically." The idea was to get students directly involved with history through oral interviews with Texans, both well known and not so well known, about their childhoods.

Those interviewed present a wonderful glimpse of the lives of children from a number of different ethnic and economic groups, primarily early in the twentieth century. These Texans had problems and joys in the lives they have reconstructed from their memories, and their value systems will lead to interesting discussions. Maury Maverick's disarming observation that at sixty-five he still had not decided what he wanted to be, Horton Foote's comments on pecan trees and houses that survived hurricanes, and Nakäi Breen's experiences as a Cherokee living with the Kickapoo are a sampling of the delights to be found within the cover of this book. Others interviewed include Eloise Benavides, Stanley Marcus, John Armstrong, Paul Baker, Fannie Chisum, Ruben Munguia, Wanda Ford, Eck and Leroy Horton, John Banks, and Maggie Cousins. The photographs that portray Texas and the lives of these thirteen individuals are also excellent.

The stated purpose of the original project was to stimulate the interest of young people in history. With all of its drawbacks, oral history is one of the best ways to develop that interest. I am sure the project achieved its goal, and it resulted in a delightful book for all of us to enjoy as well.

Jo Ann Stiles
Lamar University

Women in Texas: Their Lives, Their Experiences, Their Accomplishments, by Ann Fears Crawford and Crystal Sasse Ragsdale (State House Press, P.O. Box 15247, Austin, TX 78761) 1992. Index. End Notes. Black & White Photographs. Illustrations. P. 443. $16.95 Paper.

Women in Texas was published originally in 1982 as a collective biography of women who had contributed to the colorful history of the Lone Star State. Revised in 1992, it begins with the "Mother of Texas," Jane Wilkinson Long, and ends with Governor Ann Richards leading the "New Texas" after her election in 1990. The book is dedicated in part to co-author Crawford's

grandmother, Dolly Conley Huey, who was "throughout a lifetime an East Texas Woman." Biographies include a spotlight on East Texas with Jane Wilkinson Long joining her husband in Nacogdoches in 1819 after he led some 300 men to the town to help free Texas from Spanish rule. A handmade flag from Jane Long flew over the Old Stone Fort.

Women in Texas details the history of Mary Austin Holley. The cousin of Stephen F. Austin, her writings include a book on early life in Texas which contributed to interest in and immigration to the state. Her letters to Stephen F. Austin provide a historical background on frontier Texas.

From Adina De Zavala and Clara Driscoll defending and protecting the Alamo to Minnie Fisher Cunningham and Jane Y. McCallum leading the suffrage movement in Texas, women are portrayed as strong influences in Texas history. It was in May 1944, that "Minnie Fish" Cunningham, an East Texas woman, announced her candidacy for governor of Texas! Of course, the state already had learned the slogan "Me for Ma and I ain't got a dern thing against Pa!" in Miriam Ferguson's gubernatorial bid in 1924.

Women in Texas biographies are not lengthy and spark interest regarding the women who are an integral part of our history. The references following each chapter serve as an excellent source for follow-up. The original book included the biographies of thirty strong women who contributed to Texas history. The revised version seems to lack luster, missing some of the substance in the early stories in the book.

With a 1992 copyright, *Women in Texas* seems dated. The biography of Liz Carpenter seemed to stop in 1981. Sarah Weddington's history did not move past her role as senior advisor to President Jimmy Carter, despite Roe v. Wade being a paramount focus issue for women in the early 1990s. Congresswoman Barbara Jordan's biography ends after 1980 yet she remains a strong political figure in the 1990s. The chapter on former Railroad Commissioner Lena Guerrero must be revised to exclude the information on her having graduated The University of Texas as a Phi Beta Kappa honor student. The comments regarding her work in the cotton fields may be accurate but might also be re-evaluated. Unfortunately, for Lena Guerrero and the women of Texas, that chapter becomes a tragedy. And the biography of Governor Ann Richards seemed flat. The passion, hope, commitment of women to see that she was elected did not seem to be communicated. The re-energizing of women by Ann Richards was something to behold and had not been experienced since the suffrage movement ... *and* it worked!

Debra Berry
Nacogdoches, Texas

Dr. Lawrence A. Nixon and the White Primary, by Conrey Bryson (Texas Western Press, The University of Texas at El Paso, El Paso, TX 79968-0633) 1992. References. Black & White Photographs. P. 98. $10.00 Paper.

While most histories of the twentieth-century civil rights movement focus on events that occurred in the deep South in the 1950s and 1960s, Conrey Bryson reminds us that organized resistance to the erosion of black political rights began in West Texas in the early 1920s with Dr. Lawrence A. Nixon's challenge to the state's white primary laws. Bryson argues that Nixon, a lifelong Democrat and founding member of the El Paso branch of the NAACP, was situated ideally to challenge the Texas efforts to disenfranchise blacks. As a physician, Nixon had the financial wherewithal to sustain himself during the long legal challenge to Texas' voting laws; as an El Paso resident, he had the good fortune to reside in the Texas community least characterized by deep-seated anti-black racial antagonism.

Bryson chronicles in detail the two legal challenges that Nixon made to the white primary. Although the United States Supreme Court ruled in his favor in both cases – *Nixon vs Herndon* (1927) and *Nixon vs Condon* (1933) – Nixon's efforts to exercise his right to vote were thwarted by the Texas legislature and subsequent court rulings. Nevertheless, Nixon's attack on disenfranchisement inspired others to enter the struggle and led eventually to success in *Smith vs Allwright* (1944).

This book is not without its flaws. While Bryson recounted the legal strategy and court proceedings in great detail, he could have strengthened his book by linking the legal struggle to the black community in El Paso and Texas. There is, in fact, more information about Fred C. Knollenberg, the white El Paso attorney who represented Nixon in his legal struggles than there is about black El Paso, black Texas, or even Nixon himself. Finally, I am puzzled by the author's insistence on using the uncapitalized "negro" throughout the book. In spite of these concerns, this is a valuable book. Bryson should be commended for focusing attention on this significant episode in Texas history, and Texas Western Press deserves our accolades for reprinting his study.

Cary D. Wintz
Texas Southern University

The McFaddin-Ward House: Life Style and Legacy in Oil-Boom Beaumont, Texas, by Jessica Foy and Judith Linsley (Texas State Historical Association, Sid Richardson Hall 2/306, University Station, Austin, TX 78712) 1992. Index. Endnotes. P. 66. $5.95 Paper.

Restorationists, students of architecture and the decorative arts, genealogists, and anyone interested in the history and the heritage of East Texas should find this publication in the Texas State Historical Association's

"Popular History Series" a useful introduction to an important historic house museum that reflects an opulent life style of prominent Beaumonters during the Spindletop Oil Boom and beyond. Well researched and documented by its authors, this illustrated work provides a brief history of an imposing, seventeen-room Beaux Arts Colonial mansion built in 1906 and the people who lived in it until the death of its last owner, Mamie McFaddin Ward, in 1982. A superb example of an architectural style that was popular in the United States during the early decades of the twentieth century, the McFaddin-Ward House has had no major structural alterations and has been preserved with a "lifetime's accumulations of items" (p. 43). It was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1971 and designated as a Registered Texas Historical Landmark in 1976. Mamie McFaddin Ward provided in her will that the house would be restored, preserved, and converted to a museum. A foundation was established for this purpose and the house was opened to the public in 1986.

Naaman J. Woodland
Lamar University, Beaumont

Inside the Third House: A Veteran Lobbyist Takes a 50-Year Frolic Through Texas Politics, by H.C. Pittman (Eakin Press, P.O. Box 90159, Austin, TX 78709-0159) 1992. Foreword by Bill Hobby. Black & White Photographs. Index. P. 305. $24.95 Hardcover.

Always well dressed with a folksy, down-home image, she was elected in large part due to the vote of her fellow women. She saw to it that women were appointed to positions of prominence in state government.

Texas Governor Ann Richards?

No, Texas Governor "Ma" Ferguson.

With that tidbit of little-known information and other political facts, fiction, anecdotes, and lore, Pittman's book is a "frolic" through Texas politics, from Governor "Pass-the-Biscuits Pappy" O'Daniel's record one million-plus votes in the 1940s to Railroad Commissioner Lena Guerrero's political undoing in the 1990s for claiming a college degree she never earned.

Pittman provides a half century of first-hand information on Texas governors, legislators, political "characters" and anybody who is somebody or was somebody in Texas politics during the past fifty years. He also provides an insider's view of the real power in the state legislature - the Texas lobby.

If it's quick information you're after, Pittman's "Texas Luster" thumbnail sketches precede biographical information on each of the dozens of politicians in his book. Or if you have a difficult time understanding the foreign language spoken in the legislature, there's a "lingo" section to bail you out. Or if you just want a laugh or two, his "Prattle" section of quotes, sayings, and slogans will both amaze and amuse you.

Pittman has provided a true Britannica of information on Texas politics, politicians, and political power brokers, including the elite, the not so elite, and the wish-we-were elite.

If you follow Texas politics, Pittman's book will jog your memory and tickle your funnybone. If you're new to Texas politics, don't visit the Texas statehouse without reading this book first. You need to be forewarned about what goes on there.

J. Lyn Carl
Austin, Texas

Summer Stock: Behind the Scenes with LBJ in '48: Recollections of a Political Drama, by Joe Phipps (Texas Christian University Press, Box 30783, Fort Worth, TX 76129) 1992. Black & White Photographs. Index. P. 338. $27.95 Cloth.

During the summer of 1948, Lyndon Baines Johnson campaigned for the Democratic Senate nomination against ex-Governor Coke Stevenson and several others. Johnson made it into the run-off election and then defeated Stevenson by a narrow margin: the famous 87 votes. It was assumed at the time that voter fraud decided the issue, and practically every subsequent study of the election has verified that assumption. Hence, an inordinate amount of attention has been given the run-off election, even though it was the early part of the summer that was really interesting.

Just out of the army, working on his degree at the University of Texas, and just beginning what was to be a distinguished career in communications, Joe Phipps was caught up in the campaign as one of Johnson's active young protegés. Some of Phipps' contemporaries would remain attached to Lyndon Johnson in some way or other for the rest of their lives; but he did not. The end of the summer of 1948 brought an end to their association, and yet that summer was an experience that Phipps would never forget. More than forty years later he produced this memoir, which is a significant contribution to the Johnson literature.

Phipps' primary responsibilities during the campaign were two: he wrote the copy for Johnson's numerous radio spots; and he travelled with Johnson in the famous helicopter – the Johnson City Windmill – handling the introductions and set-ups for all of Johnson's speeches. In the process he had about all the close contact with LBJ that he could stomach and he came to know the congressman very well. In this delightful memoir he not only chronicles the hectic events of the summer, he captures the essence of Johnson's personality. According to Phipps the real Johnson was indeed just as mean and coarse as the images created by his most hostile biographers. Moreover, Phipps answers a vital question that has long puzzled and divided Johnson scholars: was LBJ personally involved in the illegal activities of George Parr that won him the election? According to Phipps the answer is

"yes." On the night of July 21, 1948, Johnson flew to South Texas and asked the "Duke of Duval" for his support. It was granted. Parr asked nothing in return. He simply decided to abandon Coke Stevenson, whom he had long supported, because he thought the ex-governor was taking him for granted.

This is an informative and well-written book. It adds a new perspective to the Johnson literature and should be read by everyone with an interest in the Lone Star Colossus.

Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr.
Midwestern State University

Race and Class in Texas Politics, by Chandler Davidson (Princeton University Press, 41 Williams St., Princeton, NJ 08540) 1990. Illustrations. Figures. Tables. Notes. Index. P. 344. $27.50.

Chandler Davidson observes that the politics of Texas has not attracted the attention that it deserves from historians or other scholars. This situation has occurred despite the economic significance of Texas and the prominent role that the state has played in national politics throughout much of the twentieth century. The provincialism that has allowed social scientists to ignore Texas (as well as most other major states outside of the northeast and the midwest), is one of the issues that Davidson, a sociologist at Rice University, addresses in *Race and Class in Texas Politics.* Davidson, however, does not replace provincialism with regional chauvinism. Instead, he uses the study of Texas politics to add to the understanding of national politics.

Davidson organizes his book around the political theories of V.O. Key, a political scientist who spent his formative years in west Texas, received his doctorate at the University of Chicago, and then spent much of his academic career at Johns Hopkins and the University of Alabama where he directed a study of electoral politics in the South. Out of this study came Key's most significant book, *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (1949). Key argued that the South's one-party system was based on race, and that as the significance of race dissipated (especially in Southern rim states such as Texas and Florida), a true two-party system would emerge. Key further argued that in this reconstitution of Southern politics, class would replace race as the organizing element of politics, with the Republican Party representing the interests of the wealthy class, while Democrats represented the needs of the poor and working classes.

Davidson uses Texas as a test case to evaluate the accuracy of Key's thesis. He concludes that Key correctly predicted the emergence of a vital two-party system in Texas, and that class did become the primary factor in party identification. Davidson views the Texas Republican Party as a conservative organization representing the interests of the state's wealthy, while the Democratic Party has become the party of the progressive element in the

state. The flaw in Key's theory, according to Davidson, is that race has continued to dominate politics in Texas. Indeed, he concludes his study with the pessimistic observation:

> But how could the exorcism of racial issues from Texas politics be achieved when racial antagonisms were still tightly woven into the fabric of everyday life?... How could a moratorium be declared on the subject when one of the two major political parties saw an advantage in keeping it before the public, fanning the embers of old racial hostilities? (p. 271)

Davidson accomplishes much more than just evaluating Key's thesis. He captures the essence of Texas politics as few others have done. He achieves this not only by analyzing traditional topics like voting behavior and political alignment, but he enriches his study with brief vignettes of Texas political and economic leaders and rich case-study data illustrating the political attitudes of ordinary Texans. The result is a rich work that not only brings Texas politics to life, but adds to our understanding of national politics – especially the increasing importance of race as an element in politics.

Davidson's work is not without flaws. The structure of his book around Key's somewhat dated study is not all that effective. Davidson also does not hide his bias in favor of the progressive element in the Texas Democratic Party and its role in the state's politics. More seriously, his analysis of the state's early political history is weakened by his reliance of dated sources. However, these flaws do not detract from the overall effectiveness of this book. Davidson is to be commended for his insightful analysis of racial politics. He has created a work that will be valued by those interested in both Texas and U.S. politics in the late twentieth century.

Cary D. Wintz
Texas Southern University

William Wayne Justice: A Judicial Biography, by Frank R. Kemerer (University of Texas Press, Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819) 1991. Notes. Index. Maps. Photographs. P. 503. $29.95 Cloth.

William Wayne Justice, A Judicial Biography, by Frank R. Kemerer, is a significant work on East Texas and its recent judicial history.

Justice first goes into detail on the forces which shaped the character and philosophy of William Wayne Justice. After reading the first chapter, titled "The Early Years," the reader can better appreciate and foresee Justice's later political involvement and appointments as U.S. Attorney and federal judge as well as his court decisions. In the meantime, the reader can experience a return to East Texas of the 1920s through today, warts and all. William Wayne Justice was the best source for the details of life and experiences, though in this section the book very nearly becomes autobiographical.

The second part of the book deals with the decisions of William Wayne

Justice, the judge. This section should be absolutely fascinating to East Texans, especially to those who have met William Wayne Justice, lived under his decrees, or known the people or places involved in court cases he decided. Many of the circumstances and events Kemerer describes flood back into memory.

The significance and difficulty of many of the decisions of William Wayne Justice are clarified and put in perspective. From statewide school desegregation to prison reform, William Wayne Justice significantly changed Texas and especially East Texas. He was a virtual pioneer of institutional reform. Rather than righting an individual wrong, he frequently went further and attempted to reform the institution or law that perpetrated or allowed such a wrong in the first place.

Kemerer also deals with some of the troubling aspects of Justice's decisions. In his zeal to explore and correct a perceived wrong, Justice often went beyond the conventional in fashioning broad and sometimes harsh remedies which didn't always succeed. He occasionally even went beyond what the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals would tolerate. As a surprising testament to his activism, in the prison reform suit of *Ruiz v. Estelle* Justice handpicked plaintiff's attorney William Bennett Turner when, as Justice told Kemerer, "... I decided that I'd have a little test case to see what a first-class lawyer could do with the state's contentions and what he could develop in favor of the inmates, because I wanted to find out if there was any substance to what they [the prisoners] were saying" (p. 358).

Kemerer has included a terrific amount of material about the actual legal issues decided by William Wayne Justice. Much of that detail which might be of less interest to the casual reader has been placed in fifty-one pages of footnotes so the text is not cluttered.

Justice, while favorable toward its subject, also reminds us of the way it was in East Texas. Would we willingly return to the "Pre-Justice" days of school segregation, voter discrimination, warehousing and sometimes abusing juveniles and the mentally retarded, segregated public housing, and six prisoners in a 5 foot by 9 foot cell? I think not. For that difference, Kemerer points out, we can in large part thank William Wayne Justice.

Rob Atherton
Nacogdoches, Texas

Houston: The Unknown City, 1836-1946, by Marguerite Johnston (Texas A&M University Press, Drawer C, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 1991. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. P. 447. $24.95.

To an emotionally besieged Houston, beset by critical media coverage and a soaring crime rate, Marguerite Johnston's voluminous history of the Bayou City arrived as an early Valentine. Reorder signs multiplied along bookstore shelves as eager customers exhausted the publisher's first edition.

The demand is well placed. The author acquired an intimate knowledge of the city over a period of decades as a columnist and editor of *The Houston Post,* earning impressive honors along the way. This finely-written product of extensive interviews and exhaustive letters, diaries, and collections carries the reader from the town's humble origins on a muddy stream in 1836 to its entry into global prominence a century later. Legions of community leaders parade across the 400, double-columned pages, with virtually every prominent figure traced forward and backward through family members, marriages, and social and business relationships. Household names the likes of Anderson, Baker, Clayton, Cullen, Hogg, Hughes, Rice, and Wortham spring to life in witty anecdotes and memorable quotes. Johnston argues that Houston has prospered from an early and continuing tradition of philanthropy and offers countless examples of private benevolence and civic responsibility.

Unsurprisingly, not every turn at bat collects a hit. Stephen F. Austin endured considerably more than "several months" imprisonment in Mexico City (p. 5); Sam Houston Hall, not the Coliseum, housed the Democratic convention in 1928 (p. 277); and the University of Houston received the Merchants and Manufacturers Building for its Downtown campus in 1974 rather than in the 1980s (p. 420). Footnotes tend to amplify the text rather than indicate the sources.

The reader should not expect a full-dimensional account of the state's largest city. The author acknowledges an absence of the political sphere but also limits this social history to the movers and shakers. Commoners muddle about in the background, surfacing only during wartime and other crises. Evidently no Hispanic contributed enough to warrant a listing in the lengthy index. Indeed, most non-WASPs remain discreetly between the covers of Fred R. Von der Mehden's *Ethnic Groups of Houston,* a recommended supplement. Nor is the often penurious opposition of these privately generous people to governmental assistance programs for the needy examined.

The plain folk of the bayou, reading of the beautiful people, may recall the small child with nose pressed against the candy store window. In either case the view within compensates the effort.

Garna L. Christian
University of Houston-Downtown

Presidential Temperament, by Ray Choiniere and David Kiersey (Prometheus Nemesis Book Company, Box 2748, Del Mar, CA 92014) 1992. Photographs. Bibliography. P. 615. $15.95.

For years biographers have tried to understand their subjects intimately, both in their public persona and also in their personal lives. Psychologists Ray Choiniere and David Kiersey have continued this trend by dividing American presidents into four psychological groups (Artisans, Guardians,

Rationals, and Idealists) with each group subdivided into directing or reporting classes. While the study of character types is perhaps ancient (dated by the authors to 550 B.C.), placing all of the presidents into these categories is surely a new and overwhelming task. Yet the authors tried to delve into the very temperament of each chief executive in order to make him "more memorable" while also writing an "engaging introduction to the study of character and temperament" and helping "voters make more informed choices" during elections (Preface).

Although a fine and worthwhile concept, the book has several flaws from an historical perspective. For instance the authors neglect major works concerning the presidents, such as Douglas S. Freeman on George Washington, Henry Pringle or Edmund Morris on Theodore Roosevelt, or Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., on Andrew Jackson or Franklin D. Roosevelt. Since the authors state they are not historians and instead have depended on major secondary sources in order to draw their conclusions, their analysis is, at times, suspect. In addition the authors often cite otherwise insignificant incidents in support of major points. These glimpses usually are not drawn from detailed biographies but instead from such works as *Presidential Anecdotes, Presidential Campaigns,* and *Presidential Wives,* by Paul Boller; while these are interesting books they do not claim to offer a complete picture of the individuals but, instead, short, memorable, often unusual, events. Numerous errors also appear throughout the text from transposing the pictures of James Buchanan and William Henry Harrison to mislabeling their own charts. Finally, numerous graphics were difficult to understand and would have been enhanced by a better explanation (see pp. 31, 168, 383, and 504).

While the book succeeds in its goal to be an "engaging introduction" into character study, it fails in the historical arena, making it a marginal purchase at best.

Eddie Weller
San Jacinto College South

The Big Thicket: An Ecological Reevaluation, by Pete A.Y. Gunter (University of North Texas Press, P.O. Box 13856. Denton, TX 76203-3856) 1993. Foreword by Bob Armstrong. Maps. Black & White Photographs. Appendix. Bibliography. Index. P. 229. $14.95 Paper.

Pete Gunter published his first Big Thicket Book (*The Big Thicket: a challenge for conservation*) in 1971 when Thicket conservationists were in the thick of the battle to save what was left of a dwindling big woods. Prospects were grim at the time. Timber and oil companies, loggers, and some land owners adamantly opposed making any part of that southeast Texas wilderness into a park or reserve or anything that took it out of commercial use or raised taxes or flooded the land with outsiders. As conservationists within and without the Thicket began to grow in number and power,

the loggers began a frenzy of cutting to get the timber before it was put off limits. Timber companies, to discourage any desire for a park, began clear-cutting, which is taking every tree, weed, and blade of grass off and leaving scraped earth and windrows of unused cut trees and brush tops. In some areas timber companies went through mixed pine and hardwoods and girdled and poisoned all the hardwood. The result was that where grand stands of beautiful mixed forests once stood, now pine plantations stretch out in sterile rows.

Those were bad days and bitter battles! And Pete Gunter's *The Big Thicket: a challenge for conservation* was instrumental in the long fight to preserve the Big Thicket.

Twenty-two years have passed and Pete is taking another look at the Thicket in *The Big Thicket: An Ecological Reevaluation.* This time he is able to view the Thicket with more optimism about its future.

Most of the work of saving the Thicket was done by the Big Thicket Association of Texas, founded in 1964. Dempsie Henley, mayor of Liberty, led the early fight and published his own account of the state of the Thicket in *The Big Thicket Story* of 1965. The most important step, however, was the involvement of Senator Ralph Yarborough, who was raised on the edge of the Thicket and who dedicated much of his energy during his last congressional tenure to establishing a worthwhile national preserve. Gunter writes an exciting account of Yarborough's struggles – and George Bush's and Lloyd Bentsen's – to pass a Thicket bill that culminated in 1974 with the passage of Congressman Charles Wilson's bill to establish the Big Thicket National Preserve.

Conservationists have added to the lands of the Thicket Preserve since then and only recently have added the Village Creek Corridor to the Big Thicket holdings. The battle has not been completely won yet, but prospects for preservation are looking good. Land is being added and visitors are coming in increasing numbers. Pete has been a part of this Big Thicket preservation movement since its early years, and he writes about it with first-hand knowledge.

I really do like Pete Gunter's book. I would recommend it to anybody who is getting started in Thicket exploration. It begins with a brief but complete geological history of the Thicket and a discussion of its biological diversity. It has a winning chapter on the colorful Thicket guide and character, Lance Rosier of Saratoga. And he describes in detail the frustrating legislative maneuverings to get the Thicket named and protected as a national preserve.

That is the first half of the book. Pete spends the last half on a section appropriately named "The Big Thicket Now: A Users' Guide."

The Users' Guide consists of seventeen sections, describing in detail and with maps, various units of the Big Thicket National Preserve, and any-

body going there should have a copy with him. The book tells the reader what to look for and what he can explore after he gets there. This section tells about the natural habitat of each unit, the trails to take, the places to camp or canoe, and how to get there in the first place.

If I had one criticism of the Big Thicket Preserve management it would be that they do not have enough big road signs telling visitors how to get to particular areas of the Preserve. I lost one entire afternoon trying to get back into the Neches Bottoms and the Jack Gore Baygall Unit from Highway 92 and FM 2937. I ended up on a tram road in a swamp at a washed-out bridge by a garbage dump. I shall try again someday.

To return to Pete's Users' Guide: Anybody going into the Thicket will do well to read it ahead of time and pack it with him in his sack lunch.

Pete Gunter is a philosophy professor at North Texas State University at Denton, and I have always been impressed at the miles he traveled to attend to the business of the preservation of the Thicket and participate as an active member and officer of the Big Thicket Association. Presently he is the chairman of the Big Thicket Task Force of the Texas Committee on Natural Resources. Pete is a dedicated environmentalist who has focused his energy on preserving the Big Thicket of southeast Texas. He is committed and he is knowledgeable, and he knows of what he speaks and writes in *The Big Thicket: An Ecological Reevaluation.*

Francis Edward Abernethy
Stephen F. Austin State University

Corners of Texas, by F.E. Abernethy (University of North Texas Press, P.O. Box 13856, Denton, TX 76203-6856) 1993. Black & White Photographs. Index. P. 320. $29.95 Cloth.

If you're intrigued with the backroads of Texas, *Corners of Texas* is your kind of book.

Inside its pages you will visit Bill Brett, who carries you on a hog race in the Big Thicket. You will learn how to make an old fashioned sunbonnet. You will be exposed to El Pato, a boat used for carrying Mexicans back and forth across the Rio Grande. You will revisit a historic East Texas lynching in the 1890s. And you will make a tour of unusual tombstones for young people in Central Texas.

Corners of Texas, the 52nd publication of the Texas Folklore Society, draws upon the experiences and collections of twenty-two Texas folklorists, writers, and just plain folks who have written some of the Society's best papers over the past three years. Ab Abernethy puts it all together in a delightful, readable volume that makes you want to crank up the car and start visiting unusual people and places on your own.

The book's title was taken from Frank Dobie and Dick Holland, who tell about library corners that contain writings that are forever Texas.

Bob Bowman
Lufkin, Texas

The Texas Folklore Society, 1909-1943, Volume 1, by Francis E. Abernethy (University of North Texas Press, P.O. Box 13856, Denton, TX 76203-3856) 1992. Black & White Photographs. Bibliography. Index. P. 334. $29.95 Hardcover.

F.E. Abernethy, editor of the Texas Folklore Society's last fourteen volumes, has set his stamp of those volumes. Because of his particular focus, the publications, usually miscellanies and collections on a variety of subjects, have moved into other arenas. Often the editor treats one broad category – music, folk architecture, toys and games – and invites the membership to contribute on the theme. The volumes are popular among a wider group than ever before. The first volume of the history of the society is yet another departure. A history ought to be done, but histories get to be so – historically alike. Abernethy never lets the volume get away from what he wants it to be – more than lists and facts. Beyond officers and founding names, the book contains programs, covers of publications and interesting information about the origins of the society. The volume testifies to the reach, both multi-culturally and interculturally, of the group. The photographs, however, are simply the best part. The faces look out from another time and speak volumes. And yes, many of the faces are women's faces.

These are interesting tidbits about the personalities who were power houses within the society. There are specially written remembrances by past presidents. My favorite is C.L. Sonnichsen's account of showing up at a meeting in 1938 and being immediately elected president. If he entertained any idea that he was that special, he was soon informed that the society had long wanted to hold a joint meeting with the New Mexico Folklore Society and it was decided that the first man from El Paso to show up was going to get to be in charge. Sonnichsen humorously tells of the troubles in keeping the personalities on both sides of the Rio Grande in check.

Abernethy sets the TFS always in the midst of historical perspective and he makes rich use of letters to illustrate the philosophies and interests of the major participants within the organization such as J. Frank Dobie.

I can only write personally about the book. My heart and writing life have been with TFS for nearly thirty years – the group who in 1909 began to preserve the best of Texas – me, you, us.

Joyce Roach
Keller, Texas

The Fire-Eaters, by Eric H. Walther (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, LA 70893) 1992. Illustrations. Black & White Photographs. Bibliographical Essay. Index. P. 333. $39.95 Hardcover.

The term "fire-eater" was used in the 1850s to denote those Southerners who vigorously and persistently advocated Southern independence. Often labeled radicals, they preferred to think of themselves as conservatives trying to preserve fundamental American values. They were dedicated to state rights and believed that African slavery was essential to the continuation of a republican society. In this volume Eric Walther presents biographies of nine such fire-eaters whom he believes illustrate "the unity and diversity of people and ideas encompassed within the secession movement" (p. 6).

Seven of the nine fire-eaters described by Walther were from the states in the lower South; only Virginians Nathaniel Beverley Tucker and Edmund Ruffin were from the upper South. Five of the group, R. Barnwell Rhett, Laurence Keitt, Louis T. Wigfall, James D.B. DeBow, and William Porcher Miles, were born in South Carolina. John A. Wuitman, born in the North, spent his political career in Mississippi, and William L. Yancey, who was born in Georgia, educated in the North, and studied law in South Carolina, represented Alabama in public life.

Texas readers will probably find greatest interest in Louis T. Wigfall, the volatile South Carolinian who moved to Texas in 1846, lived briefly in Nacogdoches, and then made his home in Marshall. He entered politics, was chosen to represent Harrison county in the state legislature, and was elected to the United States Senate to succeed Sam Houston in 1859. When the Civil War came he served a brief stint in the army and was then chosen as one of Texas' senators in the Confederate Congress. Here he became one of the most outspoken critics of President Jefferson Davis.

Each of the biographical sketches is well written and thoroughly researched. This reviewer wishes the author had developed more fully his brief (six pages) concluding chapter where he presents some intriguing comments without sufficient elaboration to be totalling convincing.

Ralph A. Wooster
Lamar University

Stray Tales of the Big Bend, by Elton Miles (Texas A&M University Press, Drawer C, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 1993. Black & White Photographs. Notes. Index. P. 186. $25.00 Cloth. $12.50 Paper.

The Big Bend of West Texas, with its raw frontier, has always been a place of legend; maybe the isolation and loneliness of that incredibly beautiful place breeds a very special type of people. Elton Miles has written a book full of details and information about the legends, the people, the events, and the places of the Big Bend. His writing on the Matachines and

the railroad is carefully researched and will provide many students of the colorful history of the area with valuable information. He brings to life, with nostalgia and wry amusement, the character and rugged individualism of those strong enough to live and survive in the Big Bend. He paints with a loving and tender brush the haunting beauty of the Chisos, Chinatis, and Sierra Vieja. The stories about the army's forays into Mexico are full of amusing, and at times hilarious, mis-adventures. Miles, however, does not shrink from telling the truth about those forays and their results. Telling the truth about life on the border, he is never preachy, but he still manages to convey with gentleness and compassion, doleful aspects in the lives of both the Mexican and black inhabitants of the region.

For those who love the old stories of West Texas, this book will certainly not disappoint, but provide a well-written series of heartwarming and informational tales.

Rose T. Trevino
Laredo, Texas

A History of the Perkins School of Theology, by Lewis Howard Grimes, Edited by Roger Loyd (Southern Methodist University Press, Box 415, Dallas, TX 75275) 1993. Epilogue. Notes, Bibliography. Index. Black & White Photographs. P. 288. $24.95 Hardcover.

The late Professor Grimes and his associates trace the development of SMU and Perkins School of Theology from their joint founding in 1915 until the present. W. Richey Hogg's Introduction frames the whole book well and allows the reader to shake hands with the author and his wife. Before his death, Grimes completed his history through 1981. Roger Loyd extends the story through the deanship of James Kirby. The latter rounds out the work with his vision for the future. Throughout, the interplay of the affairs of Perkins and SMU are treated.

The work employs the following grid: 1) the contributions of each dean, 2) the movement of faculty and administrators, 3) changes in curricula and degree programs, and 4) a discussion of student life. Extended discussions focus on "Controversy and Conflict," "The Struggle to Become an Inclusive School," "Controversy, Conflict, and Reconciliation," "Building the New Quadrangle," and "In Service and Action."

Grimes maintains that the founding of SMU and Perkins at the same time are essential for understanding their development – separately or together. With the passing of time, the two became more and more separate in interplay and involvement. The university gradually seemed to become more secularized in winning academic freedom and independence.

The author views the following as pivotal points in the school's history: the large philanthropic gifts of the Perkins and Bridwell families, the renaming of the school to Perkins, the faculty appointments under Dean Merrimon

Cunninggim – including the invitation of Albert Outler to leave his prestigious Yale chair and his willingness to join the faculty, and the strengthening of the relationship of the churches with Perkins under Quillian. These he believes charted the course to national and international prestige.

The authors have written a definitive work on the history of Perkins. Grimes, even though dying of cancer, produced a work which is at the same time judicious and thorough, substantive and balanced, diplomatic and candid. Uniquely gifted for the task, he not only was an insider but, his roots, his education, and his temperament also suited him for the job.

Methodists, SMU graduates, and Perkins alumni – indeed, everyone who has an interest in the rise and progress of religion in the United States, and particularly the Southwest – will find Grimes' work stimulating and rewarding. For scholars, it allows them to stand on his shoulders and look further into the subject; for the laity and casual readers, it is both readable and enjoyable.

Dick Dixon
Lufkin, Texas

Leadership During the Civil War, The 1989 Deep Delta Civil War Symposium: Themes in Honor of T. Harry Williams, edited by Roman J. Heleniak and Lawrence L. Hewitt (White Mane Publishing Company, Inc., P.O. Box 152, Shippensburg, PA 17257) 1992. Illustrations. Appendix. Endnotes. Index. P. 196. $18.95 Paper.

T. Harry Williams' studies of prominent leaders remain some of his most enduring contributions to Civil War historiography, so it seems proper that leadership was the focus of eleven well-known historians who convened in his honor under the aegis of Southeastern Louisiana University. This compendium of their research reflects the broad spectrum of their interests.

Three symposium participants have published works earlier about Civil War leaders, but they offer new reflections on these same men. Richard Current declares that Abraham Lincoln was not a "Constitution-stomper" (p. 1), though it becomes clear that it was President Lincoln's words and not his actions that belie attempts by later politicians to justify their extra-constitutional acts. Herman Hattaway reconsiders Stephen D. Lee's command of artillery at Second Manassas in an essay that leaves little doubt why Lee became "something of a hero" (p. 136). Finally, William C. Davis' declaration that John C. Breckinridge was the "most capable and efficient" (p. 140) of the Confederate secretaries of war reinforces the irony that the only goal left to him upon assuming office early in 1865 was an "honorable peace" (p. 145).

The highest levels of the Confederate command structure also draw the attention of three other symposium participants. Grady McWhiney concludes that Jefferson Davis was "imprisoned by his own character and back-

ground," and thus "so was the Confederacy" (p. 33). Emory M. Thomas portrays Robert E. Lee as a son chagrined by his famous father's late career and as a husband frustrated by a lazy or invalid wife, but also as an ambitious leader who chose to laugh at life rather than cry. More controversial than either of these is Lawrence L. Hewitt's absolution of Braxton Bragg for the Kentucky campaign of 1862. Hewitt convincingly argues that Bragg was not to blame for the failure of the invasion and that he achieved significant strategic objectives by his maneuvers.

Two other symposium participants also focus on the failure of leadership in the Confederacy, though only one tries to redeem his subject as Hewitt did. Arthur W. Bergeron, Jr., joins a few previous authors in blaming Jefferson Davis for the Confederacy's loss of New Orleans. In the process, he exonerates Mansfield Lovell and provides a detailed account of futile preparations to defend a city stripped of troops. Jon L. Wakelyn offers little defense for the lack of leadership provided by the speakers of Confederate legislatures, but his thorough discussion of their backgrounds certainly explains their inability to take charge.

Richard M. McMurry's closing essay, which asserts that true leaders were to be found among the officers who led small units, provides a framework for contrasting two articles that reflect the diversity presented by the symposium participants. Edwin C. Bearss provides an account of Brice's Cross Roads, one of many engagements in which Nathan Bedford Forrest personally led his men in battle. Conversely, Archie P. McDonald demonstrates that Jedediah Hotchkiss was a valuable map maker but he rarely if ever led troops, though he was an officer.

McDonald's well-written contribution, however, illustrates the essential value of this collection. There is something for almost every Civil War aficionado in this work. It is hoped that future conferences will retain these participants' emphasis on both quality and diversity.

Richard B. McCaslin
High Point University

Life of Robert Hall, Indian Fighter and Veteran of Three Great Wars. Also, Sketch of Big Foot Wallace, by "Brazos" (State House Press, P.O. Box 15247, Austin, TX 78761) 1993. Black & White Photographs. Index. P. 126. $14.95.

Robert Hall is one of those legendary characters in Texas history who has done everything having to do with the westward movement of the United States – frontiersman, cowboy, Indian fighter, Texas Ranger, and veteran of three wars (Texas Revolution, Mexican War, and Civil War). He was bigger than life, both in physical stature and accomplishments.

Born in South Carolina and coming to Texas with a group of Kentucky volunteers, Hall arrived just after San Jacinto and joined the Texas army.

When the Mexican threat waned in 1837 he married Polly King and joined the Texas Rangers to protect his home. This involved him in much of the Indian problems of the Texas frontier, especially against the Comanche. After annexation, like most Texans, he felt obliged to join the United States army in the Mexican War and served under Zachary Taylor at Buena Vista. The ensuing years until the Civil War were spent ranching in central and south Texas.

Being a unionist during the Civil War did not prevent Hall from getting into the fray. In May 1862, he joined the 36th Texas Cavalry on western Texas duty, and later was involved in the Red River Campaign where he learned to dislike the Federals more than the Comanches. In early 1864 he came home on furlough and never returned to the war.

Hall and his family were involved in several lawsuits which are described in the introduction. His reputation grew as he joined the Texas Veterans Association and began attending meetings, oftentimes dressed in his famous frontier suit. In 1899 he died in Cotulla where he lived with one of his thirteen children.

There were several unusual things about this book: "Brazos," the mysterious author; the rarity of the book because so few copies were printed (not published); the difficulty of the reader to believe everything written; the confusing timetable (not chronological) of the numerous chapters; and the boastfulness of Hall about the most historic events of Texas history. As a primary source, there are many interesting and valuable parts of the book, especially the first hand accounts of the Battles of Plum Creek, Medina, Salado, Buena Vista, and the aftermath of San Jacinto. Much is said about Indian life in Texas, including both friendly and hostile tribes. Probably one of the best accounts of the Mier Expedition is described in the last segment entitled "Big Foot Wallace."

Like Noah Smithwick's book, this book, too, is a must for every Texas history buff. It is short, easily read, and interesting. Biography or auto-biography, it surely deserves a place in Texana collections.

Linda Cross
Tyler, Texas

Star of Destiny: The Private Life of Sam and Margaret Houston, by Madge Thornall Roberts (University of North Texas Press, P.O. Box 13856, Denton, TX 76203) 1993. Bibliography. Index. Appendix. Black & White Photographs. P. 432. $24.50 Cloth.

In this year of the Houston bicentennial, another volume on the most famous citizen of Texas is hardly surprising. But *Star of Destiny: The Private Life of Sam and Margaret Houston* is not a typical biography. Madge Thornall Roberts, a descendant, began this work as a family history for her children. Then, in 1991, after transcribing the Houston letters in the Frank

Williams collection housed in Sam Houston Memorial Museum, Huntsville, she determined to share her knowledge with a wider audience. The result is peppered heavily with information from that correspondence, but the author also manages to incorporate other primary and secondary sources as well as family lore.

On first glance, *Star of Destiny* may appear to be little more than extensive quotes connected by an informative narrative; but it is much more. Roberts chose to utilize letters which present Houston as a loving father and attentive husband. And they, for the first time, provide a realistic portrait of Margaret Lea, the cultured twenty-one-year-old woman who fell in love with a roughhewn frontiersman twenty-six years her senior. The words of these two lovers are sometimes startling in their passion, so intimate that the reader has a sense of intruding – as though accidentally glimpsing one's parents in a private gesture of tender affection. For example, on a visit to Alabama in 1842, a sickly Margaret wrote to her husband, "my spirit pines to be with you, and in my present state of anxiety about you, I do not think my health could be improved by a longer absence ... my Love" (p. 84). In other letters, as in this one, mutual respect, admiration, and desire are evident.

Star of Destiny is a valuable source for historians and a fascinating treat for "buffs." Roberts scrutinizes this marriage in impressive detail. And while she does not tarnish the iconic images of her subjects, she does render them more human, more fallible, more vulnerable; they were, indeed, sensuous beings possessed of compelling emotions. The romance of Sam and Margaret Houston proves that great love stories need not be tragic.

Vista K. McCroskey
University of Texas at Tyler

Shipwrecked on Padre Island, by Isabel R. Marvin (Hendrick-Long Publishing Co., P.O. Box 25123, Dallas, TX 75225) 1993. Preface. Illustrations. Map. Bibliography. P. 160. $14.95 Cloth.

Isabel R. Marvin's fictional book for children based on historic records is actually two separate stories under one cover. The story line of Part I deals with the historic fact of a ship wreck off Padre Island, Texas, in 1554; Part II, also set on Padre Island, takes place in 1993. In both stories the writer uses a young, thirteen-year-old-heroine to drive the plot. Events in the lives of the girls ties the two stories together even though they are separated by centuries. Part I colorfully portrays the life of a young Spanish girl who set sail from Mexico with her father for their native Spain. The adventures encountered are filled with vivid descriptions of domestic life, life at sea, and survival on an island. The plot is suitable for elementary school readers; however, the terms and vocabulary will present a challenge. Part II has an easy-to-follow vocabulary and exciting plot filled with suspense and dis-

covery which often parallels Part I. The chapters are well-crafted, making the reader want to continue reading. Because this book vividly depicts an important event in Texas history, I recommend it for school libraries.

Sarah Jackson
Stephen F. Austin State University

The Papers of Jefferson Davis, Vol. 7, 1861, edited by Lynda L. Crist and Mary S. Dix (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, LA 70893) 1992. Illustrations. Index. P. 540. $50.00.

This carefully edited volume reflects the central role of Jefferson Davis during a truly crucial year in American history. The documents begin with a letter from the Mississippi senator's oldest brother discussing news and political gossip from the home plantation area and conclude the momentous twelve months with William Lowndes Yancey's summary from London of European reaction to the American conflict. Between these two communications, 1449 other items are printed either in full or abstracted version.

These documents, including 124 letters in full version and 1269 others abstracted, reflect the whirlwind of events around Davis, the creation of the Confederate States of America, his selection as its president, and his efforts to lead the new nation – first in peace and then in war. From Edwin DeLeon, the senator learned on January 8, "the cotton states may now be regarded as having decided for secession," and from J.E.B. Stuart a week later, that promising officer's belief that rupture of the Union was "probable." In those tumultuous weeks, Davis was calmly moderate in both his public and private remarks.

Among the most memorable items in this collection are Davis' farewell remarks to his senatorial colleagues, who listened in "profound silence, broken only by repeated applause;" his Inaugural Address in Montgomery when he proclaimed "our true policy is peace" and assured everyone that "you shall not find in me either a want of zeal or fidelity to the cause that is to me the highest in hope;" and his November 18 speech to the Confederate Congress which concluded with the admonition, "Liberty is always won where there exists the unconquerable will to be free." While he had initially hoped for a field command, "I think I could perform the functions of genl. if the Executive did not cripple in my operations." Instead, as the Confederate chief executive himself he had to endure the jealous carpings of such commanders as Beauregard, Bragg, and J.E. Johnston. Meanwhile, he also had to sort through many suggested plans for immediate victory and such outlandish schemes as a bullet-proof locomotive; an airship to travel "at the rate of 100 miles per hour;" a legion armed with shotguns; a plan to take Washington with "a new set of arms as yet unknown;" a secret design which would destroy an enemy three-quarters of a mile away "provided that you do not consider any means unfair in ware;" and a "many charged, breech load-

ing, diverging barrelled, rifled cannon for shooting any size or style of leaden bullet from 1/2 to 1 1/2 pounds."

Meanwhile, dozens of applicants wrote for appointments and others urged immediate action on every front, but the patient Confederate leader calmly worked through a lack of funding for his new nation, too many bickering generals, overly optimistic reports from Border State sources and Europe, and his own illness in September. While the Southern government operated from Montgomery, Davis read a report that his executive rival in Washington was "light, inconstant and variable. His ear is open to everyone." His demanding schedule soon wore on his endurance so much that the London *Times* reporter noted Davis' "very haggard, care-worn, and drawn look." A few days later, an apparent assassin stalked him and he confided to his brother, "God knows what the tide of war may bear to me." But those worries vanished for a while when he proudly telegraphed from Manassas late on July 21, "Our forces have won a great victory."

Texans were often the authors of these opinions, from a fireater's boast in March that Sam Houston "has sunk beneath the waters," to a compliant from a group at Paris over their state's need of arms, and a Lone Star planter's offer to give one-eighth of his property to help "role the great Confederate juggernaut through the ensuing swamp of abolitionist indignation." Later, three Red River County cotton-growers promised one-half of their crop, while a Marion County veteran from 1812 wanted to attack the enemy on every front, and Ben McCulloch believed five regiments of volunteers were ready to march northward toward the Yankers.

This volume is remarkably well prepared. It is flawlessly free of errors of fact, interpretation, or typography. The annotations and explanatory notes are splendid, including biographical sketches of 210 individuals, a detailed index, and forty-four pages of sources. The editors wisely have chosen not to reprint most items already available in the *Official Records,* but they have noted those papers, as well as the 204 pages of materials for 1861 in Dunbar Rowland's 1923 edition of Davis' *Letters, Papers, and Speeches.* Unfortunately, many telegrams from these critical months have been lost, but the tireless and careful staff of this project have provided all students of the war with this fine volume of all materials they have located – including the year-end summary from Davis' overseer at Brierfield. He wrote of his plan "to informe you about your Plaze & Bizness ... I have 251 Bald upe and ... the lint room and upe stars full and I think the Plase will make more cotton then laste yeare and a Plenta of corne to do the Place the coming yeare."

Haskell Monroe
University of Missouri

Kenneth and John B. Rayner and the Limits of Southern Dissent, by Gregg Cantrell (The University of Illinois Press, 54 East Gregory Drive, Champaign, IL 61820) 1993. Epilogue. Notes. Bibliography. Black & White Photographs. Index. P. 361. $47.50 Cloth.

Gregg Cantrell's biographical history of American politicians Kenneth and John Rayner, white father and slave son, relies on extensive primary research and a competent reading of secondary works. The reader follows the story from Kenneth Rayner's *antebellum* northeastern Whig country of North Carolina to John Rayner's Populist and Progressive Texas of the 1880s to 1910s. Within this compass, the author explores exclusionary attempts by father and son to expel race as the organizing principle of Southern politics and exchange it for other social and economic issues. The scope of the lives and times of Kenneth and John Rayner exposes the limits of Southern dissent that the Rayners both violate and results in their political destructions and personal humiliations. Of a particular note is that Cantrell, when exploring the elder Rayner's post-Whig involvement with the Know Nothing Party, does not descend to uninformed nativist-bashing but carefully probes the causes for Rayner's adherence to the anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant party of the mid-1850s.

Gregg Cantrell writes well, a great help when deciphering the causes and effects of the perplexing and often confusing area of Southern dissent and racist politics. The Introduction and Epilogue neatly organize and summarize the issues of this biographical narrative. The body of the work becomes more personal through Cantrell's incorporation of speeches, newspaper columns, and private letters by both Rayners.

Best used at the senior and graduate level, this work remains distinct enough in content and analysis that an educated layman should find it an excellent and provocative read. It deserves a place on the shelves of all historians involved with the race and politics of the nineteenth-century South.

Melvin Clarno Johnson
Nacogdoches, Texas

Abner Cook: Master Builder on the Texas Frontier, by Kenneth Hafertepe (Texas State Historical Association, 2/306 Richardson Hall, Austin, TX 78712-9820) 1992. Black & White Photographs. Illustrations. Appendices. Index. P. 210. $29.95 Cloth.

The architectural legacy of pioneer master builder Abner Cook reflects an era of power and promise in Texas history. Extant evidence of his work, including such Austin landmarks as the Governor's Mansion, Woodlawn (Elisha M. Pease Mansion), the Neill-Cochran House, and Little Campus, provide important insights into the frontier capital and the architecture profession, both of which were only beginning to develop during the mid-nineteenth century. As a designer, Cook employed a vernacularization of popu-

lar styles and emphasized familiar and traditional forms. Although his work represented wide-ranging influences, his success with Greek Revival architecture eventually overshadowed other stylistic endeavors, as well as his entrepreneurship and his service as first superintendent of the state penitentiary in Huntsville.

Architectural historian Kenneth Hafertepe works through myths that surround Cook and the Greek Revival forms that became synonymous with his Austin work. Utilizing available historical resources, which are limited, and his extensive knowledge of American architectural thought, the author presents a broader context for understanding and appreciating Cook's contributions. What might have been a pedantic study of a regional builder becomes instead an important perspective on Texas social history. Particularly helpful is the division of the biographical narrative along lines of recognized historical themes, from the Republic to Reconstruction. Some conjecture remains, but Hafertepe uses investigative and analytical skills to narrow the possibilities.

Of particular interest to researchers of architectural history are the numerous illustrations, including photographs, drawings, and floorplans, as well as plates reproduced from early texts that influenced Cook's designs. Equally important are the appendices that provide details about his projects and clients.

Dan K. Utley
Baylor University

Spanish Texas 1519-1821, by Donald E. Chipman (University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819) 1993. Maps. Black & White Photographs. Line Drawings. Notes. Bibliography. Index. P. 352. $14.95 Paper. $30.00 Cloth.

This attempt at a one-volume synthesis examines the diversity of Spanish Texas and its legacy. Donald E. Chipman focuses on eighteenth-century affairs in the region with Spanish and French intercolonial rivalry as a backdrop. Chapters one through three deal with geographical and human diversity, early European contacts and northward advance into Texas. Chapters four and five examine international challenges to Spain's ambitions with reference to the East Texas missions; while chapters six through eight survey settlement patterns, retrenchment, and mission/presidio affairs. Chapters nine and ten examine the changing international scene and Anglo-American intrusion between 1783-1803. In two conclusions, Chipman analyzes important global events that led to Mexican Independence and discusses lasting traditions from the Hispanic past.

Professor Chipman does not wrap us in the myths and fables of some Texas histories but shows how a sense of Texas identity evolved through Europeans, Indians, and mestizo people. How these people devised crucial

patterns for survival in the Southwest is reconstructed with Texas not as the last province settled in northern New Spain, but as part of a larger scenario, from Cabeza de Vaca to the present. A weakness may be that Chipman accepts Spanish/Indian syncretism as a given. It would be instructive to learn how it actually occurred.

Most successful chapters cover international rivalry in the last half of the seventeenth century and events after the French and Indian War. Chipman carefully explains significant changes in Spanish imperial policy and how they impacted shifting alignments in Texas. That Spain thought in terms of buffer zones is highlighted as creating the improvished conditions of East Texas. Basic continuities of this neglect were telling. Missions, presidios, and Indians appear as pawns in Spanish and French rivalry over the lower Mississippi Valley and Gulf Coast region of Texas. Here, Chipman uses the human drama of La Salle and St. Denis to chronicle the vacillation of Spain's imperial enterprises.

The product of a skilled historian, the book is well-balanced and provides the updated synthesis attempted. It certainly meets the needs of university students, especially the readable format and the publisher's affordable paperback.

Roberto Mario Salmon
University of Texas-Pan American

Mexican Americans in Texas: A Brief History, by Arnoldo De Leon (Harlan Davidson, Inc., 3100 North, Arlington Heights, IL 60004-1592) 1992. Preface. Notes. Glossary. Index. Maps. Photo Essay. $13.95 Paper.

Arnoldo De Leon's study will please lovers of Texas history as well as those interested in Latin Americans in the United States. This book will be especially valuable for non-Hispanic Texans with only an outsider's perception of the experiences of *Tejanos*. The author emphasizes the social and economic diversity of a group often regarded as homogenous.

Hispanic Texans saw little change before 1880 in lives of marginality and oppression. The generation from 1880 to 1910, on the other hand, encountered the onset of commercial agriculture, industrialization, and urbanization; new opportunities accompanied continued discrimination. The decades from 1900 to 1930 brought heavy immigration from Mexico due to hard times and political turmoil there. The Hispanic community in Texas was influenced by many who continued to look homeward rather than embrace new ways.

The Great Depression brought increased suffering and hostility, and many Texas-Mexicans went to Mexico voluntarily or otherwise. World War II, however, opened new possibilities for advancement and assimilation. From 1945 to 1960 a continuation of this brighter political and economic climate prevailed.

The turbulent period from 1960-1976 represented another watershed for Hispanic Texans, the era of *El Movimiento,* the Chicano Movement. Confrontation and cultural separatism went hand in hand with accelerated "mainstreaming" as more *Tejanos* entered the middle class.

De Leon's otherwise excellent book ignores the heavy immigration of the 1980s and since. This recent influx may bring changes as important as those of the 1900-1930 era.

D.S. Chandler
Miami University (Ohio)

Mexican Sayings: The Treasure of A People, by Octavio A. Ballesteros and Maria del Carmen Ballesteros (Eakin Press, P.O. Box 90159, Austin, TX 78709-0159) 1992. Preface. References. Illustrations. P. 78. $14.95 Hardcover.

The authors of this diverting little collection neatly sidestep the scholars' debate over the distinction between proverbs, maxims, adages, aphorisms, and axioms by asserting that "a saying is a concise, popular statement, often moralistic in nature, which expresses what most individuals believe to be true" (p. v).

These epigrams and bits of folk-wisdom, given in both Spanish and English, were collected in hundreds of interviews and casual contacts with elderly Spanish-speakers in Texas and northern Mexico. Some of these sayings can be traced through Mexican history to Islamic and Indian traditions. The reader is struck by the number of these precepts that reflect those of English-speaking Texans. Such expressions deal with universal concerns that all peoples face.

Some of these "concise" Mexican sayings might better be described as pithy and laconic – *"Para cada perro hay su garrote;"* for each dog there is a bludgeon, or every problem has its solution (p. 77). Some are more to the point. *"Si no apesta, no es pata;"* if it doesn't stink, it isn't a foot (p. 18). Trenchant observations about women crop up frequently. *"El hombre propone, Dios dispone, y la mujer descompone;"* man proposes, God disposes, and woman rearranges (p. 8). *"Una cojera de perro y lágrimas de mujer no hay quien las crea;"* one should not believe a dog's limp or a woman's tears (p. 19).

There is even good advice for book reviewers, too often ignored – *"A menos palabras menos plietos,"* the fewer words the better (p. 38).

D.S. Chandler
Miami University (Ohio)

Under Their Own Vine and Fig Tree: The African-American Church in the South, 1865-1900, by William E. Montgomery (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, LA 70893) 1993. Illustrations. Black & White Photographs. Epilogue. Index. P. 358. $29.95 Hardcover.

Persuasively argued, clearly written, and carefully researched in primary and secondary materials, this is an important contribution to the growing body of literature on the African-American church. For almost a century scholars have debated whether Africans arrived in the Americas culturally naked, stripped of all ancestral traditions. Without being polemical, William E. Montgomery, a historian at Austin Community College in Austin, Texas, insists that African vestiges endured, and he is convinced that the evidence can be seen in the African-American church. This study concentrates on the latter nineteenth century, a period of immense transition in the South. Although there is no bibliography, the footnotes, which are located conveniently at the bottom of the page, attest to the author's thoroughness. The index is adequate.

According to Montgomery, African-American churches evolved along two fundamentally different paths. Among the sparse black population of the North and the small free black community of the South, the church, for the most part Methodist or Baptist, was little different in structure and theology from that of the dominant whites. But among the slaves, whose vast numbers in the South enabled them to retain some sense of their African past, a folk church rooted in African culture emerged. Certain African beliefs and practices survived within a Christian container. The obvious socioeconomic gap between the blacks who followed these divergent religious paths created some tension after the Civil War. As Montgomery shows, racial unity notwithstanding, the strain between the untutored former slaves and the black aristocracy, arising from differences of class, experience, and culture, often was apparent.

The church nevertheless proved indispensable after emancipation. Concerned with the needs of body and soul, it pursued spiritual as well as economic, educational, and political objectives with equal vigor. Montgomery hints that it was not surprising to those familiar with the African-American experience that Martin Luther King, Jr., came from the church. Although more suggestive than definitive, this work does for African-American religion in the latter nineteenth century what Albert J. Raboteau's *Slave Religion* (1978) did for the antebellum years.

John W. Storey
Lamar University

Progressives and Prohibitionists: Texas Democrats in the Wilson Era, by Lewis L. Gould (Texas State Historical Association, 2/306 Richardson Hall, Austin, TX 78712-9820) 1992. Maps. Illustrations. Black & White Photographs. Annotated Bibliography. Index. P. 339. $19.95 Paper.

Reading again Lewis L. Gould's *Progressive and Prohibitionists,* which was first published in 1973, is like encountering an old and well-liked friend. The thesis – that prohibition was the key to progressive reform – has now become the standard interpretation of Texas politics from 1911 to 1921. Gould's argument that the drys were sincere and not yahoos standing against progress has been incorporated into the textbooks and graduate seminars of those who study and teach the history of the state. And like a well-known friend, knowledge of the book does not breed boredom. The writing style sustains the pleasure of meeting the thesis once more, and the careful organization of the monograph leads the reader to the conclusion that prohibition battles led drys to accept the need for a stronger government and to reject the negativism of those who saw prohibition as state interference with individual liberties.

The interpretations of progressive reform have undergone sizable modifications since this book was published. Gould addresses some of those interpretations and calls for clarifications and new research in an introduction written for this reprint. As he points out, there is much work for scholars to do in fleshing out the history of Texas from Populism through World War I. He remains, nevertheless, committed to the thesis that the prohibition crusade is critical to understanding the progressive politics of a one-party state. Thus far no new work has refuted that contention. Scholars and their students should commend the Texas State Historical Association for making available again this well-known and justly praised monograph.

Robert A. Calvert
Texas A&M University

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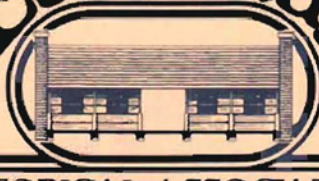

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